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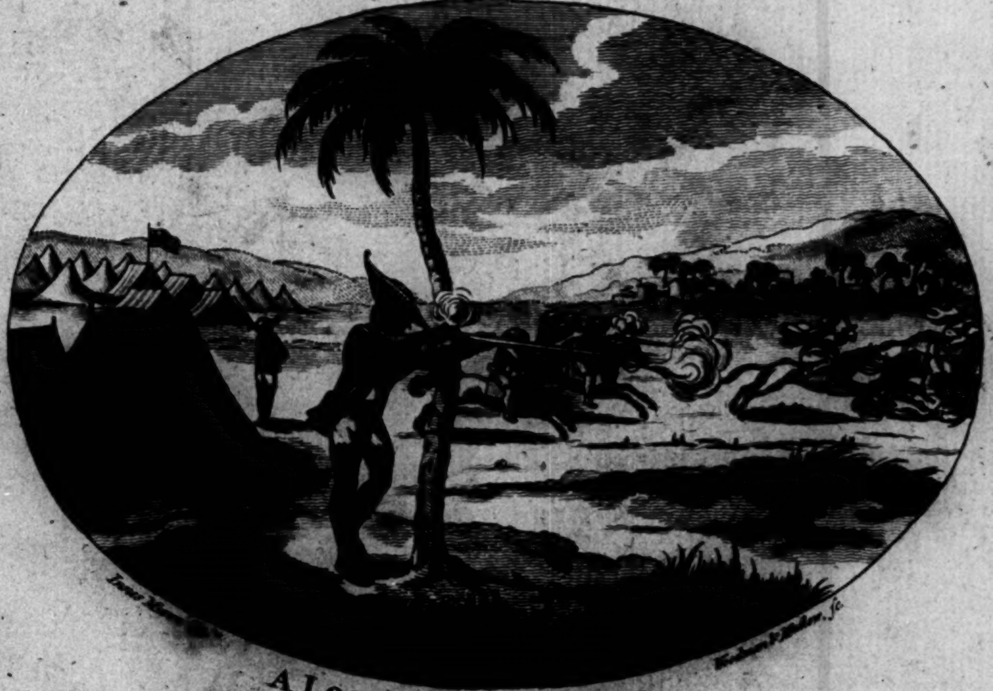
A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
MILITARY OPERATIONS
ON THE
COROMANDEL COAST, &c.



A LOOTY-WALLAH CHACE.

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FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

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A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
MILITARY OPERATIONS,
ON THE
COROMANDEL COAST,

AGAINST THE COMBINED FORCES OF THE

FRENCH, DUTCH, and HYDER ALLY CAWN,

FROM THE YEAR 1780 TO THE PEACE IN 1784;

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS.

IN WHICH ARE INCLUDED

MANY USEFUL CAUTIONS TO YOUNG GENTLEMEN DESTINED FOR INDIA;

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MOST REMARKABLE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EAST INDIANS; AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE ISLE OF FRANCE.

ILLUSTRATED WITH A VIEW OF PORT LOUIS IN THE ISLE OF FRANCE;

AND CORRECT PLANS, UPON A LARGE SCALE, OF THE FORTIFICATIONS AT TRINQUAMALLEE,

AND OF ALL THE BATTLES FOUGHT BY THE ARMY UNDER LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K. B. AND OTHER COMMANDERS, DURING THAT WAR.

By INNES MUNRO, Esquire,
Captain in the late 73d or Lord Macleod's Regiment of Highlanders.

K

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M,DCC,LXXXIX.

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FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

TO

His Grace the DUKE of NORTHUMBERLAND, &c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

WHILE I expreſs my conſciouſneſs that your Grace's patronage is the beſt recommendation which this Volume can have with a People who venerate the name of NORTHUMBERLAND, permit me at the ſame time to give vent to my gratitude for the generous condeſcenſion by which that illuſtrious title now graces my page.

To you, my Lord, a Soldier has a kind of preſcriptive right to addreſs himſelf. The name of PERCY has not been more diſtinguiſhed in the annals of Fame for military proweſs than for the exerciſe of every humane and ſocial virtue. How well the dignified and lineal reputation for both has been ſupported by your Grace it is unneceſſary for me to repreſent. To the former the plains of America bear witneſs, and the latter has been amply atteſted by the grateful panegyric of every ſoldier that ſerved under your command.

A witneſs yourſelf of the fate of our arms in the Weſtern hemiſphere, it may not be unintereſting to you to trace their exertions in the Eaſt. Whilſt fighting the battles of the ſame gracious Sovereign, (though in the oppoſite quarters of the globe) there is, in the breaſt of every worthy ſoldier, a generous ſenſibility which ſecretly attaches him to thoſe of his profeſſion. That this noble feeling exiſts, in an eminent degree, in your Grace's patriotic boſom, the Britiſh army has uniformly felt, and with the utmoſt gratitude acknowlegdes.

As an additional proof, if proofs are neceſſary, of your Grace's generous condeſcenſion, is the permiſſion which I now enjoy of ſubſcribing myſelf, with the greateſt reſpect,

MY LORD,

YOUR GRACE'S

MOST OBEDIENT

AND DEVOTED

HUMBLE SERVANT,

London,
March 31ſt, 1789.

INNES MUNRO.

P R E F A C E.

As I preſume to lay the following Letters before the Public, upon a ſubject of ſuch importance as the detail of our Military Operations in India during the laſt war, I might probably be accuſed of affectation, in endeavouring to avail myſelf of the common-place, though, in this inſtance, very juſt apology, of their not having been originally intended for the preſs. In thoſe hours of relaxation from public duty, which in a camp are too generally devoted to injurious exceſſes, it was my uſual occupation and favourite amuſement to mark down, in the form of a journal, the occurrences of the army in which I ſerved. Theſe I afterwards compreſſed into the compaſs of a letter, for the information of my friends in Europe; which I tranſmitted to them as opportunity ſerved. Motives, which I ſhould feel a pleaſure in avowing, added to preſſing ſolicitations, have induced me to ſuit them, to the beſt of my ability, for the public eye; but as few officers, like *the immortal general of the Romans, are bleſt with the talent of deſcribing the battles in which they have been engaged, I truſt that the following detail will be peruſed with impartiality and candour.*

It has appeared to me that an authentic detail of the operations of our armies in India, particularly of that in the Carnatic, which was the principal ſeat of war, is in ſome meaſure neceſſary. Partial accounts have appeared; but any that has yet come within my obſervation ſeems to have had more in view the panegyric or abuſe of the civil government and particular governors, than an impartial and candid ſtatement of the military ſervices. The following pages have, I truſt, at leaſt impartiality to recommend them. They conſiſt of a narrative, written under the immediate impreſſions which the different occurrences at the moment excited; and I hope it will be found that they are diveſted of all prejudices unbecoming a perſon who undertakes a plain relation of facts.

Excepting in one inſtance, the events which I narrate are arranged in exact chronological order. As the letter which contains the ſketch of the Marratta war was compiled from the caſual information which I could myſelf receive in India, and partly from the accounts of it which have appeared in Europe, I have taken the liberty, that I might not afterwards break the chain of military operations, to bring *it down to a concluſion, before I enter into the detail of incidents prior to it in point of date. The ſketch (for I mean it as nothing more), which I have given of that war, I conceived as neceſſary—it marks, in glaring colours, the principles and conduct of a Company of Merchants extending their views from the drudgery of traffic to the the unbounded aim of univerſal empire.*

It was not my intention, when I formed the reſolution of ſubmitting the following letters to general peruſal, that they ſhould be the vehicle of party rancour or unmanly malignity. I ſpeak of men and meaſures from the impulſe of the heart, and I truſt it will not be found that I have widely erred in my opinions. I have not preſumed to enter deeply into the mazes of politics: I conſidered ſuch digreſſions as foreign to my work, and I felt them in an equal degree repugnant to my feelings.

For the accuracy of the plans I will freely pledge myſelf—they are done from faithful ſurveys made after the cloſe of the battles which they repreſent; the ſcale and the different poſitions and evolutions of the reſpective armies are therefore delineated with a critical exactneſs.

For the hints which I have taken the liberty of giving to young gentlemen about to embark for India, I truſt that their evident utility *will ſufficiently plead my excuſe. No voyager to that diſtant climate (ſo far as I have been able to aſcertain) has had the generoſity to caution ſucceeding adventurers againſt the inconveniences to which he himſelf may have been ſubjected from the want of previous ſalutary counſel; if, therefore, the few obſervations which I have ventured to make upon that ſubject ſhould prove of uſe to any individual, I ſhall feel myſelf amply gratified.*

The letter which I have ſubjoined to my Narrative reſpecting the Iſle of France, I have a pleaſure in avowing to have been dictated by the moſt patriotic ſentiments; I am not without hopes that the hints which I have thrown out in it for the conqueſt of that iſland may hereafter attract attention, and lay the foundation for an important and valuable acquiſition to the Britiſh crown. The perfect practicability of it I have endeavoured to demonſtrate; and I am confident that my ideas upon the ſubject, however ſanguine they may appear, are not merely chimerical.

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James Richardſon, Eſq.
Joſeph Rodgers, Eſq.
Lieutenant Rodgers, Honourable Eaſt India Company's Service
Forreſter Roſe, Eſq.
William Robertſon, Eſq. Kindeace

S

The Earl of Shafteſbury
Sir John Sinclair, of Ulbſter, Bart.
Lieutenant-Colonel Small
Major George Sutherland
Lieutenant George Sutherland, 71ſt Regiment
Sulivan Sutherland, Eſq. Jamaica
Captain Saumareys, Royal Navy, Guernſey
Dr. Saumareys, Guernſey
William Stiles, Eſq. Commiſſioner of His Majeſty's Cuſtoms
Major John Scott, M. P.
David Scott, Eſq. Glaſgow
William Scott, Eſq.
Captain Skinner, 16th Regiment of Foot
Lieutenant Spence, ditto
Lieutenant Smollett, 16th Dragoons
Charles Steers, Eſq.
James Steers, Eſq.
Mark Sprot, Eſq.
John Stokes, Eſq.
Edward Smith, Eſq.
John Spalding, Eſq.
Hugh Squair, Eſq. 2 *copies*
Cornet Starkey, 16th Dragoons

T

Richard Trewen, Eſq. Commiſſioner of His Majeſty's Cuſtoms
John Taylor, Eſq. 2 *copies*
Thomas Trower, Eſq.
Matthew Towgood, Eſq.
John Towgood, Eſq.
Chriſtopher Terry, Eſq.
D. Thompſon, Eſq. Guernſey
H. Thompſon, Eſq.
C. Turner, Eſq.
Daniel Tipper, Eſq. Guernſey

U

David Urquhart, of Brealangwal, Eſq.

Walter Urquhart, Eſq.
Mrs. Urquhart, Cecil Sreet

V

Captain D. Vallancy, 46th Regiment

W

Captain T. L. Wheeler
Lieutenant Wilkinſon, of the Marines
Captain Wood
Doctor Walters, Guernſey
George Wade, Eſq.
William Watſon, Eſq.
Thomas Woodman, Eſq.
Edward Warner, Eſq.
William Wynch, Eſq.

ERRATA.

Page	Line	
19	2	*from the bottom, for* it is *read* it was.
150	3	*from the bottom, for* as Sir Hector himſelf were *read* as Sir Hector himſelf was.
235	2	*from the top, for* Lieutenant-colonel Blair *read* Blanc
247	10	*from the top, for* Pollar *read* Pollam.
285	11	*from the top, for* get to poſſeſſion *read* get poſſeſſion.

A NARRATIVE, &c.

LETTER I.

MY DEAR FRIEND, Cape of Good Hope, Sept. 1779.

THE pleaſure of commencing that agreeable correſpondence which we mutually reſolved upon when parting at Portſmouth is at laſt arrived; and, ſince you have inſiſted upon my ſending you the earlieſt intimation of whatever might appear intereſting in the courſe of my perigrinations, I now ſeize, with joy, the preſent opportunity of tranſmitting to you my firſt remarks upon our ſecret expedition under Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes.

This ſquadron, with the ſhips under convoy, took their departure from Portſmouth on the 7th of March 1779, gliding through the bay of Biſcay in good order; and, after ſailing about three weeks in a ſoutherly courſe, reached the iſland of Madeira, and anchored in Funchall bay.

I was much delighted with the magnificent ſcenery and picturesque appearance of this place. The Portugueſe ſeem to diſcover a taſte of antiquity in the choice of their habitations, theſe being generally ſituated upon the moſt conſpicuous eminences, whence daſhing cataracts deſcend in various forms, and feaſt the eye with a pleaſing variety.

Funchall is the metropolis of the iſland. It is ſituated in the receſs of a ſemicircular bay, about a mile in diameter, and naturally defended at both extremities by rocky precipices, upon which ſtrong breaſtworks and heavy guns are placed; being only acceſſible at one narrow ſandy ſpace in the centre, upon which a heavy ſurge inceſſantly beats. The town is irregularly built, but contains many good houſes, and has one large ſquare in the centre, which is the only level ſpace in its vicinity.

The hills riſe gradually from behind; and upon the moſt commanding of them is erected a ſtrong mud fort, which overlooks the town. Upon the ſides of thoſe lofty mountains, the tops of which are generally covered with clouds, are magnificent monaſteries and nunneries, with villas and vineyards interſperſed; the whole affording a moſt delightful proſpect from the bay.

The character of the natives here exactly correſponds with that uſually given of the Portugueſe nation, but the Engliſh who reſide in the town are laviſh of their civilities to all ſtrangers indiſcriminately; for a foreign veſſel or fleet no ſooner arrives than they vie with each other who ſhall ſhew them the greateſt attention; laying their houſes and tables publicly open to the whole, and entertaining them ſumptuouſly.

Here the churches, like moſt catholic places of worſhip, appear well ſtored with riches. A handſome theatre has lately been built, but good dramatic performers are very ſcarce.

The governor was ſo much taken with the appearance of our ſoldiers, that he obtained permiſſion from Sir Edward Hughes to land two companies of Highland and Welſh grenadiers, that he might ſee them go through their evolutions in the grand ſquare, where the Portugueſe ſoldiers were drawn up as ſpectators. Our troops were handſomely dreſſed, and went through their manœuvres, firings and evolutions, with uncommon activity and ſteadineſs. A well conducted charge finiſhed the review, which had afforded univerſal ſatisfaction and delight; and the officers and ſoldiers were afterwards handſomely entertained by the governor.

They experience in this place, at particular ſeaſons of the year, a prodigiouſly diſagreeable hot wind, which blows from the coaſt of Africa; and, although it croſſes a great tract of the Atlantic, yet is its violence ſo ſeverely felt in this iſland as frequently to ſplit the furniture and wainſcoting in the houſes. Theſe winds are often attended by violent ſtorms of thunder and lightning, one of which ſtruck our whole fleet with conſternation whilſt in Funchall bay, and obliged many of the ſhips to put to ſea in the night-time, for fear of being driven on the rocks.

Having been a month at this iſland, Sir Edward proceeded upon his voyage, and, paſſing through the Canary iſles, arrived upon the coaſt of Senegal. When the fleet had come in ſight of Cape de Verd, a ſignal was made for all captains of men of war, and others, to repair on board the admiral's ſhip for inſtructions. The *pregnant mountain* was now truly delivered of a *mouſe*, and the myſterious ſecret revealed by orders to prepare for the attack of *Goree!* an unimportant fortified iſland belonging to the French, but commanding the entrance of the river Gambia on the African coaſt.

We were no ſooner in ſight of the rock and flag-ſtaff of Goree, than the flat-bottomed boats were got ready, and the ſhips of war, with the whole ſquadron, fell into a line of battle. Trunks, hen-coops, beds, &c. were now thrown overboard to clear for action, and each ſhip was allotted her ſtation in the attack; ſome covering the land-forces, who were to make a deſcent, whilſt the bombs and ſhips of war were to deal deſtruction around, and a great carnage was of courſe expected. Thus the whole fleet made a ſplendid entrance into Goree bay, when a flag of truce was ſent aſhore in form to demand a ſurrender of this important garriſon. The event which followed was truly laughable—the whole place was found abandoned to one poor French fuſileer, who, upon our appearance, had hoiſted an old *table-cloth* upon the flag-ſtaff of the fort, and followed the reſt of his companions to the continent, proceeding to the attack of Senegal, having firſt precipitated all the ſerviceable guns of Goree over the rocks into the ſea.

After making the neceſſary arrangements, and landing on this little iſland about three hundred of the 75th or Welſh Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Rooke, Sir Edward Hughes proceeded, with the ſquadron and Indiamen under his command, to this place, (the Cape of Good Hope), where we arrived rather in a ſickly condition. It is hoped, however, that the troops and ſeamen will ſpeedily recover from the fatigues of the voyage, our preſent ſituation being in a temperate climate, where we are plentifully ſupplied with all kinds of freſh proviſions and vegetables. I add no more, but that we are certainly deſtined for the Eaſt Indies, where I hope that I ſhall frequently hear from you. Adieu.

LETTER II.

Madras, February 1780.

Having now arrived at the place of our deſtination I think it incumbent upon me not to let this opportunity ſlip without ſending you a few lines of obſervation upon the latter part of this tedious voyage.

Our ſquadron refreſhed at the Cape of Good Hope nearly three months, in order to reſtore health to the ſick, and to avoid the dangers of the Coromandel coaſt at an unſeaſonable time of the year. During this interval the June fleet from England joined us, and put themſelves under the command of Sir Edward Hughes.

The Cape town is an agreeable place, beautifully ſituated in a verdant valley, environed by prodigiouſly high hills, riſing almoſt perpendicularly from behind the town, and adding uncommon magnificence to the general aſpect. The higheſt hill, called the *Table Land*, riſes 3353 feet from the baſe. It is quite flat on the top, and derives its name from having generally hovering over it a ſheet of fog, which, in a calm day, falls down upon each ſide in the form of a table-cloth. When this appears, the natives ſay 'The devil has covered his table,' as it is an infallible ſign of an approaching gale of wind from the land. The next, 2095 feet in height, is the *Sugar Loaf*, which bears upon its top a ſignal-flag and two guns; as does the *Lion's Rump*, a third hill, 1102 feet high.

The town is large and very regularly built, the ſtreets being at right angles. Through each of them runs a ſmall rivulet; and in the centre is a ſpacious ſquare, which ſerves for the market-place. Adjoining to the town are the Dutch Company's gardens, to which ladies and gentlemen reſort in the cool of the evening to ſaunter through beautiful arbours and rural walks laid out with exquiſite taſte. There is alſo ſituated at the upper extremity a *menagerie*, containing a curious collection of all the wild beaſts and birds of Africa.

At the north end of the town is erected a ſmall mud fort, and all along the ſea-beach breaſtworks and heavy batteries are alſo conſtructed at proper diſtances. Theſe, however, are only formidable in name, for the Dutch have very few troops to defend the ſettlement, 500 regulars being the whole eſtabliſhment; and as for the militia, they are not only contemptible ſoldiers, but ſo ſcattered over the country as to be incapable of ever rendering effectual ſervice. There is no doubt that this place, in its preſent ſtate of defence, might become an eaſy acquiſition to a very inconſiderable force. Even the troops in our ſquadron could have put it, at the time we were there, into the poſſeſſion of Great Britain with little or no loſs; nor do I believe the inhabitants would have diſliked the change, for, from what I could learn, their liberty is much cramped by the Dutch.

I have ſeen no place in the courſe of my travels where people ſeem to enjoy ſo much domeſtic comfort as in this. Having but few opportunities of ſpending money, none aſpire to great wealth, nor are there any miſerably poor. Happily for them, the phlegmatic diſpoſition of their mother-country renders their ideas, and conſequently their wants, ſo few, that they are contented with, and never look for more than, a moderate competency. It were fortunate for ſome of our countrymen, if, *en paſſant* to the Eaſt Indies, they took a few leſſons of moderation from the contented inhabitants of the Cape.

During our ſtay here we made frequent excurſions into the country, and were every where treated with the greateſt hoſpitality and kindneſs. The place which moſt attracted my attention was the vineyard of *Conſtantia*, from which, you know, is produced an exquiſite wine, held in great eſtimation in Europe. I am now well aſſured that the annual produce of this farm would not be equal, in ſeven years, to one year's conſumption of a wine ſold under that appellation even in Britain. It is pleaſantly ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the Table Land, near the road leading to *Falſe Bay*, and is a general receptacle for the amuſement of all foreigners.

The ſyſtem here for the treatment of ſtrangers differs widely from that practiſed in the iſland of Madeira. The Hollander thinks it no degradation from the character of a gentleman, upon the arrival of any foreign veſſel, to convert part of his houſe into a tavern. By this means the ſtranger is inſtantly accommodated with bed, board, and waſhing, for the reaſonable ſum of *one rix-dollar* per day. The places more particularly allotted for the purpoſes of entertainment are the billiard and dancing houſes, which, among the Dutch, are the ſcenes of their moſt favourite amuſements. Moſt of their ſlaves are good muſicians, ſo that dancing is quite common in every houſe. Their tables abound with proviſions and fruits of the moſt excellent quality; neatneſs and cleanlineſs univerſally prevail, and they are obliging in the greateſt degree. Both Engliſh and French are ſpoken by moſt of the natives with fluency. This was the firſt place in which I had ever ſeen large tureens of hot fat broth and roaſted legs of mutton preſented at ſupper.

The ſheep of this place are of a very peculiar ſpecies. The mutton is as large as in England, and equally good; but their large flat tails, entirely one lump of fat, are ſometimes ſo long as to trail upon the ground, and weigh twelve or thirteen pounds. Bullocks are here rendered very ſerviceable, being early accuſtomed to harneſs. Four or ſix of them, yoked in a team, will continue to canter, with the ſame ſpirit as horſes, for twelve or fifteen miles at a time. They have alſo an excellent breed of hardy little horſes.

The Dutch ſoldiers make a pretty good appearance upon the parade, but fall greatly ſhort, in alertneſs, of French or Britiſh troops. Upon our arrival here we found about two hundred convaleſcent French ſoldiers and officers. Theſe good-humoured fellows were one day very roughly and ill treated, in the Company's gardens, by ſome of our drunken tars who had come on ſhore for water. You may eaſily imagine that *Jack* was in the wrong, but he could not withſtand the opportunity of *having a knock at the French.*

I muſt not omit mentioning the extraordinary warfare carried on againſt this town by the baboons and monkies, inhabitants of the Table Land. The accounts of it are, doubtleſs, exaggerated; but, as I have been informed, not entirely deſtitute of foundation.

Thoſe mountaineers are ſo jealous of an invaſion of their territories, that, when any perſon attempts to mount the Table Land, parties of them are found ready at every narrow defile to oppoſe the aſſailant, on whom they roll down ſtones, or throw them with ſuch dexterity, that often recourſe to fire arms is neceſſary before they can be diſperſed. It is affirmed that baboons have been known to overpower and raviſh the ſlave women, who have gone thither to procure wood for fuel. At other times they aſſemble during the night in numerous bodies, and, under appointed leaders, make frequent incurſions to rob the town gardens. On theſe expeditions they march down the hill in regular Indian files, with an advanced guard, and out-ſcouts that keep a watchful eye over the enemy; and they are diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, that when the van enters the garden the rear extends to the hill. Having poſted their ſentinels, the leading monkey mounts the tree, plucks the fruit, and chucks it to his neighbour. By this mode of conveyance from one to another, along the whole line, it reaches the rear-guard at the hill, to whoſe charge the whole is intruſted until they ſound the retreat, which is never done before they have acquired a good ſtore, unleſs it happens that they are ſuddenly ſurpriſed by the inhabitants. In ſuch a caſe they inſtantly retreat, with a general ſcreech or war-hoop, to the hills and inacceſſible rocks, where they regale themſelves upon their plunder in perfect ſecurity.

Towards the end of October Sir Edward Hughes took his leave of the Cape of Good Hope. It was generally expected that an attempt would now be made upon the iſle of France; but the admiral, in purſuance it is probable of limited orders, proceeded by the outward paſſage to Madras, where the whole fleet ſafely arrived in the end of January 1780.

Nothing but harmony, good-humour, and a mutual exchange of politeneſs, are wanted to make an India voyage a moſt agreeable party of pleaſure. Unleſs it be for a week or a fortnight, that, ſometimes, in the bay of Biſcay, or off the Cape of Good Hope, the India ſhips meet with a gale of wind, in which, however, danger is ſeldom to be apprehended, the reſt of the voyage, though long and tedious, is nevertheleſs, in many reſpects, extremely agreeable.

In this, as in many other conveyances of the ſame nature, particular attention is ſhewn to the accommodation of thoſe who pay an handſome price for it; and too often, for that purpoſe, encroachments are made upon the rights of young writers and cadets, whoſe inexperience in the world ſubmits them to the impoſitions of ſelfiſh deſign. Though they are entitled to a place in the great cabin, yet their ignorance and complaiſance frequently induce them to content themſelves with a birth in any bye-corner of the ſhip.

The entertainment on board is far ſuperior to what one would expect; nor do they want for amuſements to paſs away the time. Some play at cards, others backgammon—a third takes up a book, whilſt a fourth party runs over a few duets upon the violin and flute. When thoſe become tireſome, great diverſion is found in fiſhing, and in ſtriking albicores, ſharks, and dolphins; or in firing balls at birds, particularly the *albitroſs*, a large ſpecies of the ſwan, commonly ſeen within two or three hundred miles round the Cape of Good Hope, and which the French call *Montons du Cap.* This fowl is ſo tame as ſometimes to be hooked from the ſtern windows, but it is of no uſe for the table. When birds are not to be ſeen, then a caſk or ſome other object is towed a-ſtern for the purpoſe of practiſing the gun. In the evenings, particularly when the moon ſhines bright, which in the warm climates is enchanting beyond deſcription, the *catgut ſcraper* (for he ſeldom aſpires to the eminence or appellation of a violin-player) is turned upon deck, and all hands ſet to dancing. If ladies happen to be on board, country-dances are often performed to admiration upon the quarter-deck. From habit, the motion of the ſhip becomes wholly imperceptible, though, perhaps, in the trade-winds, ſhe goes at the rate of five or ſix miles an hour; nor is it uncommon in thoſe delightful latitudes for the ſhip to continue her courſe for three or four weeks ſucceſſively, without altering the poſition of her ſails.

What is moſt to be dreaded in the courſe of theſe voyages is the ſcurvy, or the fatal prevalence of ſome epidemical diſtemper. The former, unfortunately, was too common amongſt us, notwithſtanding every precaution to prevent it; and this leads me to conclude that it was occaſioned by the men being too much fed upon animal food, without a neceſſary proportion of the vegetable acid. Seamen or ſoldiers ſhould never upon a voyage get as much, at one time, of ſalt beef or pork as they can eat. I am thoroughly convinced * that meat of all kinds ſhould be ſparingly dealt out to them, and abundance of vegetables given in its place, ſuch as potatoes, peas, pickled cabbage, preſerved carrots and turnips, rice, barley, and plenty of onions or pumpkins; and, if apples could be preſerved for that purpoſe, they would be a great acquiſition. The men ſhould be accuſtomed to uſe vinegar with every thing they eat, and have ſalt fiſh once or twice a-week. I ſhould alſo think it adviſeable for all ſhips to ſtop ſome days about the line, in order to catch freſh fiſh for the crew, which might be pickled or ſalted, and would anſwer as a change for ſeveral days. All allowances of rum or brandy ſhould abſolutely be mixed with

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* In the courſe of my return home from India on board of a French merchant-ſhip, I was thoroughly ſatisfied of the good effects ariſing from a proper regulation of diet. Their ſeamen were not crowded, and were fed very ſparingly upon meat. Rice was dreſſed for them in twenty different ſhapes, and they got freſh bread three times a-week; being alſo well exerciſed with dancing and work: the conſequence was, that we had not a ſick man on board during the whole voyage.

water; and, if a little vinegar and ſugar could be now and then added to make punch of it, ſo much the better. The men ſhould be obliged to drink the half of their allowance whenever it is received; and I think gin a far more wholeſome liquor, upon a voyage of this length, than either brandy, rum, or arrack.

The harmony ſubſiſting in a ſhip, during a long voyage, greatly depends upon the diſcretion, prudence and good ſenſe of the commander. Many of the captains of Indiamen, by their polite attentions, rendered this voyage ſo agreeable to thoſe of our officers and men who were fortunately under their charge, that their parting at Madras was the cauſe of mutual regret; while others, of a more perverſe and arrogant diſpoſition, kept up, during the whole voyage, one continued ſcene of altercation with the king's troops on board their veſſels. Thoſe differences partly aroſe in conſequence of proper arrangements and regulations not having been made previous to the commencement of the expedition; a neglect which, if not remedied in the future tranſportation of troops to this country, may prove the cauſe of fatal diſaſters; as military gentlemen will find it a difficult matter to keep the ſword ſheathed under ſuch inſupportable inſolence.

Adieu.

LETTER III.

Pondamalee, March 1780.

HITHERTO I have only been able to ſend you a very ſuperficial account of the different occurrences during my voyage from England; but, as we are now in ſome degree ſettled here, I hope to render our future correſpondence more particularly intereſting. In the mean time I ſhall endeavour to amuſe you with ſome account of Madras, and the moſt remarkable cuſtoms of the Indians.

As our ſquadron approached towards Madras all became inquiſitive after the accommodations of the place, and the cuſtoms of its inhabitants. Theſe the ſhip's officers warmly deſcribed to us in the moſt favourable light; but, to our great diſappointment, the information we received from them afterwards proved to be more founded upon hear-ſay than experience. Thoſe gentlemen ſeldom reſide in any of the ſettlements above a few weeks at a time, which for the moſt part is ſpent in a dungeon (for the ſhops of Madras can hardly be called any thing elſe), ſetting off their private inveſtments to the beſt advantage.

The ſurf upon the Coromandel coaſt was painted to us in ſuch an awful light, that, when we were at anchor in Madras roads, I conceived the worſt part of the voyage yet to come. Ocular demonſtration, however, convinced me of its inſignificance; and, upon ſeveral ſhores in North Britain, I have ſeen ſurges equally dangerous. What makes this appear more formidable than others of equal height is, that there are three breakers within fifty yards of each other, the laſt of which ſtrikes with great force upon the beach.

We were quite deceived in our ideas of the king's barracks, and other accommodations for his Majeſty's troops, which were ſaid to be of a ſuperior ſtructure to any thing of the kind in England. In ſhort, by the exaggerated accounts we received, nothing ſeemed wanting at Madras to complete our happineſs but a little air of ſharp froſt, and we pleaſed ourſelves with the reflection of coming to a country ſo replete with every luxury and comfort. We chid the tardy progreſſion of our ſhips which prevented us from the ſpeedy participation of ſuch pleaſures. But theſe, alas! proved in the end to be mere chimerical dreams.

When the ſhips anchored in Madras roads, Maſula boats came off to us, formed upon a curious conſtruction, expreſsly for croſſing the ſurf; having high ſides and few timbers, of thin planks ſewed together with the bark of the cocoa-nut tree, which renders them accordingly plant. They are frequently attended by *Cattamarans*, which are no more than ſmall rafts of three planks laſhed together at both extremities and in the middle, upon which two or three expert ſwimmers mount, and paddle through the water with great dexterity. Thoſe boats were filled with people of various dark complexions, dreſſed in robes and turbans of beautiful white muſlin, having large gold earrings, ſet with precious ſtones, hanging down to their ſhoulders, and in their noſtrils ſmall rings of the ſame kind. They were alſo barefooted, and wore whiſkers. When theſe natives came upon deck, moſt of them ſaluted the officers and others of the ſhip with the moſt profound reſpect, ſeeming to be old acquaintances. This was followed by a familiar converſation between the Engliſh gentlemen and Vinkitty, Ramiah, Naigapah, Chriſtnah, and others (for theſe were the names of the Indians) concerning the ſale of Britiſh goods, which the *Dubaſhes* * aſſured them was at leaſt *cent. per cent.* in their favour; eatables and drinkables in particular they declared "the Engliſh "gentlemen would at all times give any price for." In the mean time, others of them were, with all the infatuation in the world, offering their ſervices to the paſſengers on board, each extolling his own abilities to the ſkies, hinting in ſtrong terms that his next companion was a great rogue, and giving a private and friendly caution to the gentleman with whom he ſpoke not to take that fellow into his ſervice. Written characters were alſo produced, ſome of which were forged, and others would bear but a very ſlight inveſtigation. Although they have naturally a great ſhare of addreſs, yet their too eager proffers of ſervice lead one, I believe juſtly, to a ſuſpicion of their ſincerity. They will exclaim that ‘ they require but little wages: nay, rather than not be your ‘ dubaſh, they will ſerve you for nothing; and, if maſter ſhould ‘ at any time have occaſion for a little money, the dubaſh's purſe ‘ ſhall always be devoted to his convenience.’ Nothing could be better ſuited to the indigent circumſtances of a military gentleman than a ſervant of this liberal diſpoſition. By us, who were entire ſtrangers, ſuch offers of friendſhip were not to be rejected; and, deluded by ſpecious profeſſion, many of us were egregiouſly deceived. I underſtand it, indeed, to be the fate of moſt new viſitors here to be ſadly haraſſed by the tribe of dubaſhes; but without whom, notwithſtanding their extraordinary impoſitions, a perſon would ſuffer great inconvenience. It is therefore prudent for a ſtranger to ſubmit to the preſent neceſſity until he becomes better acquainted with the manners of the country.

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* The Indian name for a ſteward.

All thoſe natives have ſuch a genteel and delicate mien, that, together with their dreſs, a ſtranger is apt to take them for women; and it is truly laughable to hear the Highlanders, under that idea, paſs their remarks upon them in the Gaelic language. ‘ Only

‘ ſmoke

‘ ſmoke the whiſkers of that huſſy,’ ſays one. ‘ Well, I never ‘ ſuppoſed till now,’ obſerved another, ‘ that there was any place in ‘ this world where the women wore beards.’ And, upon ſeeing one of them who was very corpulent ſtalk about the deck in an unwieldy manner, a third wondered ‘ how ſhe could have ventured on board ‘ ſo far gone in her pregnancy.’ All of them were taken for ladies of eaſy virtue; and it was only in attempting to uſe a few familiarities with them as ſuch that the Highlanders diſcovered their miſtake.

It being a rare ſight at Madras to ſee Europeans in ſuch an uncommon dreſs as ours, an immenſe concourſe of people were collected upon the beach to ſee us land. I am certain not leſs than 50,000 ſpectators were aſſembled upon this occaſion, and amongſt the reſt Hyder Ally's *vakeel* or ambaſſador, who did not ſeem to reliſh an augmentation to the garriſon of Madras of 1000 ſoldiers and 45 officers.

We were now uſhered into the king's barracks, ſo magnificently deſcribed to us on ſhipboard, but which are nothing better than an old brick fabric of two ſtories in height, much reſembling a Portugueſe convent. The upper ſtory is laid out into apartments for the officers, and in the under the ſoldiers are accommodated, both being of a very mean appearance. The officers' rooms, the walls of which were black with dirt, had been for ſome time uſed as a granary, ſo that rats and mice were very numerous and familiar all over the quarters. Here we had occaſion to contemplate our fate in a new point of view, being left between bare walls, containing nothing but a few earthen pots or jars to boil rice in, a prey to rats, mice, and knaviſh dubaſhes, who well deſerve the name of European tormentors. I muſt ſay, however, that the governor, General Monro, and ſeveral other gentlemen, ſhewed us great attention, and often teſtified their compaſſion, by inviting our officers to their houſes while the regiment remained at Madras.

Fort St. George is the preſidency of the Company's ſettlements on the Coromandel coaſt. At preſent Sir Thomas Rumbold holds the place of governor, and Sir Hector Munro that of commander in chief of the forces. Fort St. George is ſaid to be the handſomeſt fortification in the Britiſh dominions. It is ſituated in a flat ſandy country, and is ſurrounded, both naturally and artificially, by water, excepting on the ſide next the Black Town, which has additional outworks to it on that account. Its form is an irregular hexagon, well built; having the faces towards the ſea conſtructed in the ſhape of a contracted crown-work; the curtains of which are built like the ſide of a ſhip of war, with a tier of large port-holes for heavy cannon. Theſe are level with the water, and covered by bomb-proofs, above which the rampart is *en barbet*, with a parapet only to the flanks. All the works, even the face next to the ſea, are encompaſſed by very handſome broad ditches, which are kept conſtantly full of clear ſalt water, and upon the ſcarps are occaſionally found a ſupply of fine large oyſters. This garriſon is bleſſed with one of the fineſt fountains of freſh water in all India; and has a reſervoir fit to contain twelve months allowance of it for the whole inhabitants. It is ſo limpid and delicious to the taſte, that connoiſſeurs prefer drinking it pure to the pollution of its ſalutary qualities with a mixture of ſpirituous liquors.

The town is regularly built, and capable of lodging eight thouſand men in time of a ſiege; though the preſent garriſon ſeldom exceeds two hundred Europeans, and two battalions of ſepoys. It is an inconvenient place for ſtrangers, there being no taverns, nor any decent place of public accommodation; nor can the hoſpitality of the inhabitants be much boaſted of;—they, however, gain greatly upon acquaintance. I think it would be commendable in the Company to eſtabliſh a good tavern or lodging-houſe in Madras, if it were only for the accommodation of their own cadets upon their arrival in the country, many of whom, being deſtitute of both friends and acquaintances, are obliged to take up their reſidence in dirty punch-houſes in the Black-Town, which are little better than a ſpunging-houſe in London, where they muſt neceſſarily mix with all kinds of low company, a circumſtance from which diſagreeable quarrels and fatal conſequences frequently enſue.

The Company's officers have acquired juſt praiſe by their ſteady adherence to the duties of their profeſſion, which the excellent order of their ſepoys clearly confirms, and which ſtrikes every ſtranger with admiration and ſurpriſe. It is hardly credible, though true, that few troops in Europe cut a better appearance upon the parade; and I have been told by ſome veterans here, that, when led on by European officers, they behave in the field with aſtoniſhing conduct and intrepidity.

Their uniforms have a very military appearance, conſiſting of a red light-infantry jacket, a white waiſtcoat, and a blue turban placed in a ſoldier-like manner upon the head, edged round with tape of the ſame colour with the facings, and having a taſſel at the lower corner. The ſepoy has a long blue ſaſh lightly girded round his loins, the end of which, paſſing between his legs, is faſtened behind. He wears a pair of white drawers, tightly fitted, which only come half down his thigh, and, being coloured at the lower end with a blue dye, appear as if ſcolloped all round; a pair of ſandals upon his feet, white croſs belts, a firelock and bayonet, complete the ſepoy's dreſs.

Theſe black corps have attached to them a full complement of native as well as European officers. The former riſe according to their merit from private ſepoys; and, before the moſt of them arrive at the rank of *ſubidars* or captains (for higher they do not go), they become quite bald and grey in the ſervice; and their hoary beards and whiſkers cut a moſt venerable appearance at the head of a regiment. Their rank gives them no authority excepting over their own countrymen; for an European ſerjeant would command any of the native officers upon duty. The dreſs of the black officers is much the ſame as deſcribed above; with this difference only, that their coats are made of ſcarlet cloth, with tinſel epaulets, light drawers all the way down to their ankles, and a large crooked ſcimitar by their ſides. All words of command are given in Engliſh; and each battalion has a good corps of drums and fifes.

All the Company's European officers are promoted by regular rotation; which, with the frequent opportunities they have of ſeeing ſervice, gives them a vaſt fund of profeſſional knowledge. They are fortunate who arrive at a company after twelve or fourteen years ſervice, by which time, their examplary and aſſiduous attention to duty and diſcipline renders them fit to be intruſted with the moſt important command. Thoſe who have by this means diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice ſeldom fail of being recompenſed in their advanced years with ſome handſome appointment, by which they can with care live comfortably all the reſt of their lives. But, to ſpeak truly, this independence is literally earned by the ſweat of their brows.

Thoſe who are new to this climate are cruelly haraſſed in the night-time by the Muſquito flies. No precaution whatever can prevent them from preying upon the ruddy cheeks of a freſh-coloured European, as they have ſuch a particular reliſh for foreign blood that they will never deſiſt from their purſuit until all the rouge is completely extracted, leaving their victim a miſerable object, with his face ſwelled over his eyes in bumps like the ſmall-pox, and ulcers in the legs, that with ſome do not cloſe up for ſeveral months. The ſting is fully as poiſonous as that of a bee.

The European reſidents here ſeem to be chiefly employed in avoiding the exceſſive heat of the climate; and indeed it is not to be wondered at, for to me it feels intolerable. When viſiting each other, it is common for people to be carried in covered beds, ſupported upon men's ſhoulders; ten or twelve being allotted to each vehicle, which is called a *palanquin*. Wheel-carriages are likewiſe numerous amongſt the higher ranks of people. The native grandees are, for the moſt part, conveyed in a two-wheeled machine, covered above, and called a *bacary*. It is dragged by two or four beautiful white oxen; animals held here in ſuch high eſtimation, as not only to be uſed for draught, but as idols of worſhip; and the Mooriſh ladies frequently ride upon them croſs-legged, they being carefully trained for the purpoſe.

The manners of the people in this country differ ſo widely from thoſe of the Europeans, that it would require a volume for the purpoſe of relating them fully. It ſeems to be an invariable maxim with all of them to prey as much as poſſible upon Europeans, being contented with that mode of retaliation for the conqueſt of their country. Children from their earlieſt infancy have inſtilled into them all the principles of diſſimulation and deſign more carefully than thoſe of religion; and ſervants have eſtabliſhed ſuch a ſyſtem of regulations for their purpoſes, that it is impoſſible to get the better of them in any one point whatever. They actually hold regular meetings amongſt themſelves, headed by the moſt important perſon in each department, to determine how much per pound of meat from the market ſhall be impoſed upon their maſters; how many fanams in the pagoda ſhall be over-charged monthly; and what quantity of tea, ſugar, and liquors, ſhall be allotted for their own emolument. It is however ſingular that in theſe regulations they generally pay ſome regard to the particular circumſtances of their maſter; but they are, notwithſtanding, univerſally actuated by the ſpirit of rapacity. Salary is no conſideration with theſe men; nor would a ſervant continue a week with his maſter did he not ſee a probability of defrauding him out of at leaſt triple his ſtated wages. They have likewiſe ſo ſettled it amongſt themſelves, that, ſhould the maſter upon any occaſion attempt to uſe violence towards his domeſtics, which ſometimes Europeans are provoked to do, he will find himſelf inſtantly abandoned; nor are any permitted to ſerve him until he does penance for four or five months by ſhifting for himſelf. Then, perhaps, they may be induced to ſhew a little lenity, and ſend him the moſt acute villain of their gang to offer his ſervices, in order to *break in the gentleman*, as they call it, *to the cuſtoms of the country.* They are alſo particularly careful to inflict the ſevereſt puniſhments upon any one of their number who ſhall venture to deviate from thoſe regulations.

The numerous band of ſervants that a gentleman is obliged to keep in this country occaſions an immenſe expenſe in the ſupport of a family. This eſtabliſhment originates from no other cauſe than the political diviſions of their caſts, and their indolent cuſtoms, which they take every pains to make you believe are the baſis of their religion. The Engliſh therefore take not any ſteps for the reformation of their manners, but thoughtleſsly content themſelves with the impoſition, although it is materially repugnant to their intereſt. No perſon conſiders himſelf as comfortably accommodated without maintaining a Dubaſh at four pagodas per month, a Butler at three, a Peon at two, a Cook at three, a Compradore at two, and kitchen boy at one pagoda; and, as in India no man will put his hand to any buſineſs but his own, an Hairdreſſer and a Barber at half a pagoda each, a Waſherman at one, and an Ironer at half a pagoda, with a Tailor occaſionally at three pagodas, muſt be had; to which add nine Palanquin boys at one and an half pagoda each, and an Horſekeeper and Graſſcutter at two pagodas, and the amount for ſervants alone will be thirty-ſix pagodas, or 14l. 8s. ſterling per month, without including the expenſes of the horſe or *zenana*. I will acknowledge to you that ſome of theſe ſervants are abſolutely neceſſary in this hot climate, but I am alſo perſuaded that many of them might be eaſily diſpenſed with. All ſervants here are upon board-wages, and muſt have a conſiderable part of the day allotted for their retiring to eat their victuals, unleſs it be the cook and boy, who, being of low caſts, content themſelves with the ſcraps in the kitchen. The others pretend to be defiled in their caſt ſhould they touch any meat that comes to the table of a Chriſtian or European. This occaſions a great waſte of victuals; yet I ſhould ſcruple to truſt the moſt rigid of them in a private corner with a bottle of good claret or Madeira.

As Europeans eat any kind of meat, the Indians have been induced to rank them in the *pariar*, or loweſt caſt of people; and the Gentoos, or Malabars, tell you that, although they are obliged through neceſſity to ſerve us, they conſider themſelves of a much more dignified and gentlemanly rank in life than any European. If you ſhould aſk a common *cooly*, or porter, what caſt he is of, he will anſwer "the ſame as maſter, *pariar-caſt.*" And ſhould any individual of theſe tribes venture to deviate from the rules and reſtrictions preſcribed by his religion, it is attended with perpetual diſgrace; for a committee of his caſt takes immediate cognizance of it, and if the fact be proved he is excommunicated for ever from their ſociety and privileges.

If a black fellow ſhould happen to drop any trifling thing upon the road as he walks along, ſuch as an handkerchief or a piece of money, he never deigns to ſtoop his body to the ground, but lays hold of it betwixt his toes, and by that means conveys it up to his hand with the utmoſt facility. In many trades alſo, ſuch as ſhoemakers and tailors, the toes act in union with the hands almoſt upon every occaſion.

A gentleman of rank, who has been in this country for ſome time, and thoroughly underſtands the language and cuſtoms of the natives, related to me the following diverting anecdote of thoſe domeſtics. One evening, as he paſſed along a narrow ſtreet in the Black Town, he was ſuddenly ſurpriſed by an extraordinary noiſe proceeding from a neighbouring houſe, and yet in a greater degree when he heard his own name called out aloud. Having had the curioſity upon this to peep into the window from whence the ſound came, he was not a little aſtoniſhed, though at the ſame time greatly diverted, to perceive a gang of dubaſhes amuſing themſelves round a table, and each aſſuming the name and character of his European maſter in the moſt ridiculous manner imaginable. There was not a foible that their maſters poſſeſſed that had not been exhibited in the moſt ludicrous ſtyle; and ſo ſtrongly were this ſame gentleman's failings repreſented by his own ſervant, particularly his auſterity to thoſe under his command, that he declared it ever afterwards made a ſenſible difference for the better in his conduct towards them. I think a glance at this ſtyle of mimickry might be of ſervice to a great many gentlemen in this country, who are too apt to conſider theſe poor creatures as only formed to be ſubſervient to themſelves.

LETTER IV.

Pondamalee, March 1780.

It is to be lamented that a climate ſo pleaſing as this ſhould ſo much favour the propagation of vermin. The white ant is an inſect greatly dreaded in every houſe; and this is not to be wondered at, as the devaſtation it occaſions is almoſt incredible. When a perſon furniſhes a houſe the bed-poſts are placed in ſmall wooden baſons filled with water, to prevent vermin, and the white ants in particular, from creeping up upon them. Trunks containing clothes, or any thing of that nature, are raiſed upon bottles, as the ſmoothneſs of the glaſs prevents the inſects from climbing. It is really amuſing to obſerve their induſtry, and the curious order of their different movements. They have the appearance of great buſineſs, millions of them following each other in two ranks or lines loaded with plunder, the one going and the other returning in a ſtraight courſe of many yards in length, towards ſome particular hole where they depoſit their booty: and what ſhews a ſingular inſtance of ſagacity in theſe animals is, that, if any one of them ſhould drop his load upon finding it too heavy, his next in rank comes immediately to his aſſiſtance, and appears to make extraordinary exertions to help his friend in diſtreſs. I conclude them to be of the ſame genus with the ſugar ants in the Weſt Indies, of which the moſt incredible ſtories are recounted in natural hiſtory. If the white ants once make their way into a trunk filled with wearing apparel, they will in the courſe of one night render every thing entirely uſeleſs, eating immenſe holes in the clothes, and ſometimes perforating the wood. The ſmell of wormwood, and ſuch ſtrong-ſcented herbs, is ſaid to keep them at a diſtance; but the moſt common way of deſtroying them is by pouring boiling water into their holes, or laying trains of gunpowder in their line of march, and thereby blowing them up. By this laſt method gentlemen alſo often amuſe themſelves in deſtroying the common flies.

The *bandicoot*, or muſk-rat, is another troubleſome animal, more indeed from its offenſive ſmell than any thing elſe. Some of theſe are found as large as a Guinea pig; and wherever they go, or whatever they touch, inſtantly partakes of a ſtrong flavour of muſk. Nay, ſo aſtoniſhingly communicative is the nauſeous ſtink of this animal, that, if by chance it ſhould get into a cellar and paſs over ſome bottles, or even a pipe of wine, the liquor will ever afterwards taſte and ſmell ſo ſtrongly of muſk as to be rendered entirely unfit for uſe. This makes houſekeepers very careful in ſecuring their cellars.

Snakes of various kinds are ſo numerous here, that this may juſtly be called the country of ſerpents. The ſting of ſome of them is reckoned very dangerous, if not deadly; while others are ſo docile, that the country people catching them when young, and pulling out their teeth and ſtings, render them perfectly domeſtic, teaching them to dance and leap in a familiar manner to the muſic of a ruſtic pipe or violin. It is truly ſurpriſing to behold how charmed theſe creatures are with the ſound of any inſtrument, but particularly the bagpipe, raiſing their heads with ſeeming joy, and moving their bodies in concord with the muſical notes. As the time quickens, they appear more and more delighted; and at laſt get into ſuch an ecſtaſy, that you ſee them extend their beautiful bells, and quicken the motion of their heads, whilſt their eyes ſparkle with increaſed luſtre. Thoſe gentlemen, whoſe reſidence was next to the 73d regiment, uſed often to allege, in a jocular manner, that our bagpiper drew every ſnake in the country to his neighbourhood by the charms of his muſic; which was certainly the caſe, for he has often diſcovered them dancing round his feet, whilſt he entertained the ſoldiers with a few Highland reels. The bagpipe appears alſo to be a favourite inſtrument amongſt the natives. They have no taſte indeed for any other kind of muſic, and they would much rather liſten to this inſtrument a whole day than to an organ for ten minutes.

The moſt dangerous of thoſe reptiles are the *coverymanil* and the green ſnake. The firſt is a beautiful little creature, very lively, and about ſix or ſeven inches long. It creeps into all private corners of houſes, and is often found coiled up betwixt the ſheets, or perhaps under the pillow, of one's bed. It's ſting is ſaid to inflict immediate death; though I muſt confeſs, for my own part, that I never heard of any dangerous accident occaſioned by it. The green ſnake is generally diſcovered winding round ſome branch of a tree: and it is ſaid to have ſuch power of attraction from its beautiful colour, that, when once the eye is fixed upon it, it cannot be withdrawn until the ſnake darts at the eyeball, and ſcoops it fairly from the ſocket. It is alſo ſaid to attract birds in the ſame manner. But theſe aſſertions have too much the air of fable to merit an implicit belief. Many very large ſnakes are alſo found in the fields of ſix or eight feet long; but the largeſt of theſe reptiles that I ever beheld was at the Cape of Good Hope; it was at leaſt ſixteen or ſeventeen feet in length, and two in circumference. When at firſt ſurpriſed, he reared his head from the ground full five feet high, and inſtantly made off quicker than I could follow; ſometimes creeping, and at other times vaulting three or four feet at a time. One fortunate circumſtance reſpecting theſe animals is, that they never offer violence unleſs provoked.

Providence has kindly placed an animal in this country as an implacable enemy to all reptiles, but particularly the ſnake. It is called a *mungooſe*, and is of the ferret kind, but much more beautiful both in colour and ſhape. Families often keep one of them tamed in their houſes, as cats are treated in England. It alſo appears that nature has placed a certain kind of herb in this ſoil, the inſtant application of which enables the mungooſe to attack the ſnake without any danger from his ſting. When this animal meets with a covrymanil, or any other ſerpent, he firſt runs round the room or yard, to ſee if by any opening he can have ready acceſs to the graſs; and when this can be eaſily effected he furiouſly attacks the ſnake by the throat, and ſoon puts an end to its exiſtence; after which he is immediately guided by inſtinct to the graſs, which purifies him from the poiſon.

Scorpions and *centipedes* are alſo very troubleſome in old houſes and barracks, their ſtings being attended with great pain, and ſometimes danger. The tarantula exiſts here as well as in Italy, the venomous bite of which you know is ſaid to be cured by dancing in exceſs to ſome favourite muſic, but this aſſertion I think hardly to be credited.

For the firſt week or two of our reſidence in the barracks of Pondamalee, I was much aſtoniſhed every night after I went to bed, and particularly in rainy weather, to hear a moſt confounded noiſe, which I at firſt took for the bleating of a flock of hungry ſheep, but which I found to proceed from the croaking of frogs in the neighbouring tanks and pools. They ſometimes grow to the ſize of a chicken, and are extremely numerous. The noiſe of the graſshoppers is no leſs diſagreeable in rainy weather. At ſuch times they crowd in ſwarms into the houſes, and hop into every diſh at ſupper; nor is it at all uncommon, whilſt at meals, to diſcover young frogs, that have ſecretly crept into the houſe, crawling upon the ſide walls like lizards, until they have reached the ceiling, when it is often their fate to drop into a baſon of ſyllabub, or a hot diſh of curry and rice.

The howling of the jackall is alſo extremely diſagreeable when one has retired to reſt. They ſally from their concealed retreats in queſt of prey, during the ſilence of the night, accompanied by a ſpecies of the common cur, called a *pariar* dog. Both of theſe are inoffenſive animals, living entirely upon the dead carcaſes or carrion they can meet with in the courſe of their travels.

They have here an amphibious animal called the *guana*, a a ſpecies of the crocodile or alligator, of which ſoup is made equal to that of the turtle. This I take upon hear-ſay, for it is to me of all others the moſt loathſome of animals, not leſs ſo than the toad.

As in India the windows and doors are conſtantly kept open, for the reception of the cooling ſea breeze, they are obliged to uſe glaſs ſhades open at the top and bottom for the preſervation of their candles from the muſquitoes and other flies, which, having a propenſity to make towards the light, would otherwiſe ſpeedily extinguiſh the flame.

I have little to obſerve on the feathered creation in the eaſt. No ſinging birds are to be met with, but the variegated beauties of the plumage exceed every thing of the kind I ever beheld; and, what occaſions ſurpriſe to ſtrangers, none of theſe birds are proper to be eaten. Paroquets fly about the groves in numerous flocks. But the moſt remarkable of all theſe foreign fowls is the flying fox, as it is called here, but which is nothing more than a monſtrous bat-wing. You will hardly credit me, although it is certainly true, that theſe are in ſize bigger than an owl, and that the ſpace betwixt the tips of their wings, when extended, will meaſure from four to five feet. Prodigious flocks of them rooſt like rooks upon the tops of high trees; and when they are put to flight the ſky is darkened by their infinite numbers. Theſe only frequent the woods and groves, for they have a ſmaller ſpecies of the bat which haunts the houſes.

The ſimple methods by which the natives entrap the wild-duck or teal are curious, and not altogether unworthy of notice.

If they are ſeen ſitting amongſt the graſs or bruſhwood in marſhes or ſwampy grounds, two ſportſmen go with a net in one hand, and, holding a large green branch in the other, they creep ſlowly along upon their bellies, keeping the branch betwixt them and the game, until they come nigh enough to throw the net quickly over them, when they are almoſt ſure to catch the unwary birds. Should the wild-fowl be diſcovered upon deep water, the Indian has recourſe to another ſtratagem. He gets a large earthern jar, ſuch as is generally uſed by the natives for boiling their victuals, into which he puts his head, having firſt pierced three ſmall holes upon its ſide for his eyes and noſe, and another upon the top, into which is placed a green branch hanging careleſsly over it. Thus equipped, he takes the water like a Newfoundland dog, and ſwims ſlowly off towards the birds. It is an uſual cuſtom for the country people to throw their old earthern pots into the neighbouring tanks or ponds, which the wild-duck and teal often come to pick at, as they float away with the wind. This habit the ſportſman artfully avails himſelf of; and, when the unſuſpicious bird comes nigh enough to pick at the jar or branch which he carries upon his head, he ſlips his hand cautiouſly up, and, ſeizing the duck by the feet, pulls it quickly under water, where it is immediately drowned.

All carniverous birds are much cheriſhed in India, for the political purpoſe of devouring dead carcaſes, and other offenſive nuiſances. On this account, as violence is ſeldom offered to them, the vultures and kites, but particularly the crows, are quite tame. Theſe laſt have often afforded us great diverſion when at breakfaſt. As doors and windows are never ſhut here, they paſs to and fro quite familiarly from one room to another; and when the tea-things are laid upon the table in the morning you will ſometimes ſee a crow hop off with a print of butter in his bill. The ladies and gentlemen frequently amuſe themſelves whilſt at breakfaſt by giving names to theſe birds, and throwing crumbs of bread upon the floor to them, and a beautiful kind of ſmall ſquirrel which is quite domeſtic here. This pretty little inoffenſive animal comes regularly to partake of the ſcramble, and has frequently diverting ſparrings with the crows, which yield not a little entertainment to the company.

The European gentlemen often amuſe themſelves by firing balls at thoſe large vultures and kites; and they ſometimes try their dexterity in ſhooting at them with the pellet-bow, an inſtrument which is ſo conſtructed with two cords inſtead of one, that, with a little practice, an object may be hit very exactly with ſmall clay balls cemented by ſoap and water, and afterwards dried in the ſun; which go with great velocity for the ſpace of two or three hundred yards. The black people too make uſe of a kind of air-gun to ſhoot ſmall birds with. It is nothing more than a cylindrical piece of ſmall cane-wood, about ſix feet long, and ſmoothly pierced from one end to the other, the bore being made large enough eaſily to admit a pea. With this machine, and a pocket full of dried peas, the Indian ſets out to the woods and hedges in queſt of game; and, putting a pea with one end of the inſtrument into his mouth, he points the other extremity towards the object, obſerving to give it the proper elevation, and by the force of his breath and tongue ſhoots the pea through it with great exactneſs to a very conſiderable diſtance.

LETTER V.

Pondamalee, March 1780.

WHEN an European arrives at *Madras*, he is obliged, in a ſhort time afterwards, to get a freſh ſupply of cotton ſhirts, waiſtcoats, and breeches, not only becauſe they are better adapted to the climate, but becauſe the waſhermen ſeem to have come under an engagement to the cotton-venders and tailors, to deſtroy the European habiliments as ſoon as poſſible; which indeed they do very effectually, and make no ſecret of their purpoſe; for while they thump your linen upon the waſhing-ſtones, at every blow they call out *Europe!* and ſtrike it with ten times the force they would do the produce of their own country: ſo that it is folly for Engliſh gentlemen to bring any thing of that kind out with them, excepting a ſufficiency of old ſhirts and ſtockings for the voyage, as the beſt of them will be wholly deſtroyed in the courſe of a month, theſe waſhermen never reſting till they have reduced all your linen to rags. And this leads me to make you acquainted with the articles which ſeem moſt neceſſary for a gentleman to purchaſe in England before he embarks for the Eaſt-Indies.

I have always obſerved that, when our countrymen are preparing to emigrate, they think they never can have conveniences enough, and equip themſelves for the voyage as if no country but their own produced any comforts or accommodations for ſtrangers. Such ideas, however, are both vain and abſurd; and I think the man that truſts nothing to Providence is very ill calculated for puſhing his fortune abroad. Moſt countries, in my opinion, are capable of affording a ſufficient portion of the comforts of life for any individual; and were our countrymen to diſpenſe with a few unneceſſary luxuries upon theſe expeditions they would ſave a great deal of money that might be better laid out upon other occaſions.

All that is neceſſary for a young adventurer to carry out with him to the Eaſt-Indies is, as much light cloth and other furniſhings as will be ſufficient for three or four coats; a few faſhionable thin waiſtcoats; three hats, two black and one white; four pair of boots; twelve or eighteen pair of neat ſhoes, ſome of them thin, and others pretty thick for the monſoon weather; with only a few pairs of ſilk ſtockings, as thoſe of the country are for the moſt part worn: a neat ſaddle and bridle, with a ſtrong bit, ſpare girths and ſtraps; and a box will be neceſſary to preſerve it as well as the ſhoes and boots from the white ants. A fowling-piece and a few books are to be added to the liſt. A gentleman ſhould leave his meaſure behind him with his tailor and ſhoemaker in particular; but, above all things, one full ſuit of coat, waiſtcoat, and breeches, and a complete ruffled ſhirt, muſt be made to fit him exactly to his taſte; which in India ſhould be always carefully reſerved as a ſpecimen to the black tailors, as it is entirely by pattern that thoſe people work, which they imitate to the greateſt nicety, though they cannot exactly take a meaſure; and when once the pattern is loſt the gentleman muſt never afterwards expect to get his clothes well made. The above articles would coſt in India three times their original value, and are there indiſpenſably neceſſary.

For the requiſite conveniences on board ſhip, one ſhould, in the firſt place, complete his ſtock to one dozen ruffled ſhirts for particular occaſions, and three dozen coarſe plain ones, which may be occaſionally waſhed by a ſailor or ſoldier's wife on board; for which purpoſe it will be neceſſary to provide ſome ſoap and a ſmoothing iron: he ſhould likewiſe have a few black ſtocks or neckcloths, two pair of dark fuſtian trowſers, and ſix neat white ones to button at the ancles, with his former ſtock of breeches and ſtockings, both worſted and thread; a boat-cloak, a ſhip-cot, with three pairs of ſheets, ſix pillow-caſes, and bedding; two dozen of hand-towels; an huſwife, with variety of ſtrong ſewing threads, darning needles, pins, and a parcel of ſpare ſhirt and clothes buttons; a few quires of brown paper for neceſſary uſes; ſome tea, ſago, and ſugar ready pounded; a cheeſe; a few pounds of ſalt butter, and ſome biſcuits; with a tin tea-kettle, and tea-equipage for ſix perſons; alſo two large and four ſmall japanned quart mugs; a good ſtout caſe of ſpirituous liquors, particularly gin; ſix dozen of Briſtol water, which ought to be ſparingly dealt out in caſe of ſickneſs; ſome bottles of ſouring and ſhrub, and three dozen of wine: and theſe I think will be quite ſufficient for any private gentleman's ſtock for an Eaſt-India voyage.

I have been thus particular in ſpecifying every neceſſary article, as it is probable ſome of your friends may, one day or other, have ſuch a voyage to perform; which leads me to hope that, on that account, theſe memorandums may be acceptable. I have only one thing more to obſerve on this ſubject, which is, that great economy ſhould be attended to in the purchaſe of theſe articles before embarkation, as the paſſenger will have occaſion for double the ſum he expends in Europe to equip himſelf with thoſe neceſſary to the climate when he arrives in India.

It is ſomewhat ſingular that tailors, by their phiſiognomy, ſhould be ſo univerſally diſtinguiſhed from every other claſs of people. This is at once an index to their profeſſion in this country. Their tribe is generally of the Mooriſh caſt; and needle-work in every ſhape is performed by theſe people in the neateſt manner, ſuch as coats, waiſtcoats, breeches, and ſhirts. They are alſo ladies' mantua-makers. A tailor requires nothing but a *muſter*, as they call a pattern, and ſome caſh in advance, to begin your job immediately; for without at leaſt an half in advance of the ſum that has been agreed upon no tradeſman whatever in this country will take your work in hand. This prudential maxim they have univerſally eſtabliſhed throughout the ſettlement, pleading poverty upon all occaſions as an excuſe; but the cauſe ſeems rather to ariſe from the ſlow payment which they too frequently experience from their employers. A tradeſman here has not the leaſt idea that he ſhould be in advance from the profits of his buſineſs, for the neceſſary materials required by his employer, before the job is finiſhed: he thinks that the man whoſe buſineſs is to be done may as well be at that inconvenience. They imitate your tailors in England to a nicety, in taking ten times more work in hand than they are able to perform; and can make a falſe promiſe with as much confidence and gravity as any man of the kind in London; earneſtly deſiring that you may *cut their heads off* (a favourite expreſſion of theirs) if they are not punctual to the day appointed; but I am afraid that, were the Europeans to take them at their word, we ſhould ſoon be obliged to make our own clothes, in conſequence of the decapitation of tailors, for oftentimes the application of the rattan is neceſſary to render them expeditious.

A laughable circumſtance of this kind happened at Pondamalee with one of theſe rogues, who had engaged to make ſome clothing for our regiment. He had put upon that job about a dozen of apprentices, who were ſo very ſlow in their operations as perfectly to tire out the patience of the officer that had employed him; who thought it neceſſary to treat the maſter-tailor with a flouriſh of the rattan; which was no ſooner adminiſtered than he fell down upon his knees and implored for mercy, promiſing faithfully, if pardoned at this time, that he would " one hundred taylors bring" to-morrow morning to finiſh the work; upon which he was releaſed. Next morning at ſix o'clock, who ſhould appear at the officer's quarters but the ſame fellow drawn up at the head of one hundred tailors, with their fingers thimbled, and needles threaded, ready for action! And he was ever afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the name of One-hundred-taylors-bring. But although I have thus, in many places, deſcribed the artifice and cunning of the Indians, yet it muſt be confeſſed that they have originally been obliged to adopt thoſe meaſures from neceſſity, in order to counteract the vicious practices of European emigrants

Of all the barbers I ever knew, the Gentoos and Malabars handle a razor the beſt. Their delicate hands run imperceptibly over the face; and before one thinks they have begun the operation is completed, which, in ſo ſultry a climate, muſt be repeated every day. To this ſucceeds a luxury to which in Europe you are utter ſtrangers, and that, under the hands of theſe Indians, may be termed a real pleaſure. This ariſes from the paring of the nails of both fingers and toes, picking the ears, and cracking the joints. For the firſt of theſe they uſe a ſmall neat ſharp chiſel, with which they ſlice off the nails in the neateſt manner. It is with a ſilver pin, much the ſame as thoſe uſed in England, that they pick the ears, beginning to tickle them very gently, and by degrees inducing a perfect ecſtaſy from the pleaſures which they excite. This is ſucceeded by the cracking of the joints, which I think diſplays more art than any of the reſt. The operator firſt ſeizes a perſon by the ears, and giving a ſudden twiſt to the neck makes it crack in a manner ſufficient to frighten a ſtranger: he thence deſcends, in regular order, to every joint in the body and limbs; making each of them crack as he goes along, finiſhing at the great toe. This greatly refreſhes a perſon after walking, or any exerciſe of fatigue.

I ſhould undoubtedly have been more particular in deſcribing the different *caſts* and tribes of this country, with their various cuſtoms and prejudices, had they not been ſo fully treated of by different authors, whom I doubt not you have already ſeen. It is therefore my intention to take notice of ſuch things only as may appear to have eſcaped their obſervation. Amongſt theſe I think the caſt of Malabars have hardly been mentioned as a ſeparate tribe from the reſt, being indiſcriminately mingled with the Gentoo claſs. But I am convinced that they are a diſtinct ſect of people, entirely governed by their own cuſtoms and laws, and are as numerous in this part of the country as the others. Their manners and religion have ſo great an affinity to thoſe of the Gentoos, that a ſtranger may be apt to conſider them as one and the ſame people, they being alſo under the control of the Bramins; but they ſpeak quite a diſtinct language from any of the other caſts, and, like the reſt, have their own peculiarities. The Malabars are employed as domeſtics promiſcuouſly with the other caſts; and are only known by the diſtinguiſhing mark of their tribe, which is having the forehead rubbed acroſs with whitening, and a ſmall round ſpot, either red or yellow, fixed betwixt the eyes. Now the Gentoos are known by a ſmall bit of red or yellow wax paſted upon the forehead, in a perpendicular direction betwixt the eyes, on each ſide of which is marked upon the ſkin a ſmall border of chalk, which reaches to the top of the forehead. Each caſt, from the higheſt to the loweſt of both ſexes, is diſtinguiſhed in this manner by ſome particular mark upon the face.

I fancy it will not be amiſs, in order to refreſh your memory, to remind you that Moormen are, for the moſt part, ſoldiers by profeſſion, particularly in the cavalry; as are alſo the caſts of Rajahpoots, Marrattas, Pitans and Poligars. Gentoos, or Hindoos, and Malabars, are employed as dubaſhes, merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, palanquin bearers, and ſometimes laſcars or ſailors. Bramins are the prieſts of either Gentoos or Malabars, and in time of war are uſed as *bircarras* or ſpies. The pariar-caſt is the loweſt of all: thoſe occupy the ſtations of coolies or porters, horſekeepers, herds, cooks, fiſhermen and ſhoemakers, and ſometimes make the moſt convenient ſervants of any. A mongrel breed of Portugueſe fill the ſtations of clerks, menial ſervants, and other uſeful occupations.

In this country the women are kept perfectly idle and ignorant; thoſe of the higher caſts being either entertained as wives and concubines in the *zenanas*, or as dancing girls; excepting ſuch as have loſt caſt, who, with the Portugueſe wenches, a few Mooriſh and pariar women, generally fall to the lot of European ſoldiers as temporary wives. Theſe are alſo the kind of ladies which European officers and civilians take ſuch delight in ſupporting as kept miſtreſſes; ſome gentlemen, of a ſingular (and I think unnatural) taſte, preferring them to white women. For my part, I conſider them at beſt as a filthy inanimate ſet of creatures, having a ſtrong ſmell; either of cocoa-nut oil, with which they conſtantly beſmear their hair; or of the juice of beetle-nut, which they are for ever chewing, as a ſailor does tobacco, and ſquirting over their clothes and apartments in the dirtieſt manner. They alſo frequently rub themſelves with ill-flavoured flowers and herbs, enough to diſguſt any man with a ſound noſe. Many allowances are however to be made for the ungovernable paſſions of thoſe gentlemen, which abſolutely muſt have vent in this ſtimulating climate; but I hope ſuch parents will pardon my patriotiſm ſhould I exclaim againſt tranſporting their offspring ſo frequently to Great Britain. Meaſures might eaſily be fallen upon, both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, to give thoſe mulattoes a decent education in the country where they are born; and it ſurely would be more commendable by thoſe means to render ſuch children ſerviceable to their native colonies, which are much better ſuited to their tempers and conſtitutions, and conſequently more conducive to their real happineſs, than an education in Great Britain, where the birth which nature has given them conſtantly expoſes them, however unjuſtly, to ridicule and reproach. If you were only to examine all the ſeminaries in Britain for the education of youth, it would be found that nearly one out of ten in the numbers they contain is of that deſcription. I am therefore perſuaded that the fathers of thoſe children, who are in any wiſe attached to their country, muſt, as well as myſelf, be convinced of the great danger which in courſe of time may ariſe to the mother kingdom from this practice. And ſurely government never took the importance of this matter ſeriouſly into conſideration, otherwiſe a commerce, that may ſo ſenſibly degenerate the race, and give a ſallow tinge to the complexion of Britons, would moſt certainly be prohibited. It was by this means that the Spaniards and Portugueſe got ſo much of the duſky hue in their countenances, having kept up an unreſtrained intercourſe with their colonies till they were reduced to their preſent deſpicable ſtate: but the French, ſenſible of its bad effects, iſſued an edict that none of thoſe ſable or tawny-coloured foreigners ſhould ever be permitted to remain above eight days in France, and that they muſt immediately return by the firſt ſhip to their own country. If the liberty of our government neceſſarily renders a prohibition of this kind impracticable, the next object is to render them ſubſervient to the ſtate, by impoſing a ſwinging tax upon all that come under the denomination of mulattoes, or, as they are called in the Eaſt Indies, half-caſts.

LETTER

LETTER VI.

Madras, April 1780.

An entertainment given by the governor, or any other gentleman of conſequence here, is really a curious ſpectacle. It is the cuſtom for each gueſt to go thither attended by all his retinue of ſervants, who wait upon him at table in great pomp; the head dubaſh taking poſt directly behind his maſter, that he may convey his orders to the reſt, who are all arranged in the rear as far back as the dining-room walls. This ridiculous faſhion, together with the ſteam of the meat, renders the room intolerably ſuffocating and diſagreeable during dinner; and it is my aſtoniſhment how a habit ſo very inconſiſtent with the heat of the climate ſhould be ſo univerſally prevalent in theſe warm countries. They uſe a pleaſant kind of drink, called *country beer*, with their victuals, which is compoſed of toddy, a juice extracted from the cocoa-nut tree, porter, and brown ſugar; is of a briſk nature, but, when cooled with ſalt-petre and water, becomes a very refreſhing draught. It is reckoned ungenteel upon ſuch occaſions to be attended by any domeſtics but your own, though ſtrangers are often under the neceſſity of being aided by thoſe of their neighbours; and I muſt ſay that the gentlemen ſhew great attention to them at thoſe feaſts: yet a foreigner at firſt feels quite in pain when he is obliged to aſk for any thing at table; for the ſign is no ſooner made than twenty ſervants get into rapid motion, all darting at one object, and frequently running againſt each other in the ſimple act of handing a glaſs of beer. During theſe ſcenes it is amuſing to inſpect the variety of ſingular viſages and dreſſes that one obſerves in all quarters of the hall: nor can a perſon eaſily diveſt himſelf of the idea that he is in the midſt of a maſquerade. Every liquor that is brought to a great man's table, even the water, is cooled with ſaltpetre, which renders claret and Madeira, the wines moſt commonly uſed, exceedingly palatable. The art of wine-cooling is a diſtinct profeſſion of itſelf, and requires practice to gain a proficiency in. The leſs opulent inhabitants cool their liquors by wrapping a wet towel round the bottle, and hanging it up in a draught of wind for about a quarter of an hour. When the cloth is removed, all the ſervants, excepting the *hookerbedar*, retire, and make way for the ſea breeze to circulate, which is very refreſhing to the company whilſt they drink their wine and ſmoke the *hooker*, a machine not eaſily deſcribed, but in ſome degree reſembling an houſe-bell ſet upon its mouth, containing water, fire, tobacco, and odoriferous aromatics, and to which is fixed a tube of three or four yards long that conveys the fume to the mouth through a coral pipe at its end. This inſtrument is trimmed and ſet in order by the hookerburdar, who has no other profeſſion, and who ſits upon his hams at a diſtance, in the rear of his maſter, adjuſting the *chillum*, as they call the different ingredients, whilſt he conveys the coral pipe to his mouth, which at every whiff ſounds like boiling water; ſo that, when ten or twelve gentlemen ſmoke at the ſame time, they make a noiſe as if they were all ſnoring together.

This country is abundantly ſupplied with all kinds of good proviſions, which are ſold at a very cheap rate; and, conſidering the parched nature of the ſoil, the quantity and variety of vegetables produced at Madras are really ſurpriſing, though in ſome places up the country they are yet more abundant, particularly at Vellore, where cabbages grow to an immenſe ſize; but it is in poultry that Vellore chiefly excels. The capons there are as large as turkies, and the fowls as Engliſh capons, being alſo remarkably delicate and cheap. Indeed all over this country the poultry is far ſuperior to any in England. Fifty or ſixty fowls may be had here for a pagoda or eight ſhillings, eight ducks for a pagoda; and wild fowl, as well as tame, are equally reaſonable.

The Coromandel coaſt abounds with fiſh; ſuch as whitings, mullet, ſcate, oyſters, &c.; but the freſh water productions of this nature are very bad. Theſe are only to be found in ſtagnant pools or tanks, and are ſo poor and boney that one is liable to be choked by them. It is the buſineſs of palanquin boys to fiſh in thoſe tanks with nets when their maſters travel through the country.

Pretty good beef and fiſh are to be had at the Madras market; but the Pollam mutton which comes thither is equally delicate and ſavoury with the Scotch and Welſh. At Pondamalee our regiment contracted with a butcher to ſerve the ſoldiers with an inferior kind of mutton, though good, at ſix ſheep for a pagoda; and the beſt ſort was given to the officers at about two ſhillings or a rupee each. European liquors, ſuch as claret, Madeira, rum, brandy, gin, porter, and ale, are to be had in this country of the very beſt quality, and nearly as cheap as in England. Arrack, the only ſpirituous liquor made here, is diſtilled from rice, but is of a very pernicious quality. The beſt kind comes from Batavia, and with it the troops are ſupplied by the Company; but the ſoldiers, who have a great propenſity to drinking (of whom there are not a few in India), content themſelves with the produce of this country, becauſe it is cheap; but which frequently brings on fatal diſorders, as, for the moſt part, they drink it quite new from the ſtill. Part of the perquiſites appertaining to the commanding officer of a garriſon ariſes from keeping a rack ſhop for the convenience of the troops under his command; an indulgence which, in my opinion, ought to be aboliſhed as highly pernicious to the ſervice, no practice whatever tending ſo much to the encouragement of drunkenneſs.

The European ladies are ſaid to enjoy better health than the men in theſe warm climates; but this is eaſily accounted for by their ſpending the moſt part of their time within doors. Sleep and dreſs compoſe the chief part of their amuſement; for they very ridiculouſly ſupport all the expenſe of dreſs and form of European faſhion, which indeed they carry to the moſt ridiculous extremes. For the indulgence of their vanity and extravagance they put themſelves in fetters, in place of adopting ſome looſe and eaſy attire, better ſuited to the climate, equally becoming, and of leſs expenſe. Economy and attention to the regulation of their families are matters which they diſclaim; and the huſband who ſhould venture to hint at them would probably break the ſlender thread of domeſtic cordiality.

When a young lady arrives at Madras ſhe muſt, in a few days afterwards, ſit up to receive company, attended by ſome beau as maſter of the ceremonies, which perhaps continues for a week, or until ſhe has ſeen all the fair ſex and gentlemen of the ſettlement. This is a favourable opportunity for the diſplay of folly and extravagance, the ladies vying with each other who ſhall put their huſbands or parents to moſt expenſe, and who ſhall cut the moſt ridiculous figure, with high heads, flying feathers, jewels, and ſilken robes. They are ſeldom ever ſeen before, and never viſit until the candles are lighted up in the evening; and then four or five are quite ſufficient at one time to fill up all the couches and chairs in any houſe; being obliged, from the extravagant width of their bell-hoops, to ſit three or four yards aſunder. They aſſume precedence in all ſocieties according to the rank of their huſbands and fathers in the Company's ſervice; and many of them have the weakneſs to affect ſuch airs of pomp and ceremony as render their company extremely diſguſting in any public place. But I ſhould be ſorry not to make a wide diſtinction between theſe and many whom I have the honour of knowing; who grace ſociety ſo much by their affability, ſprightlineſs, and good ſenſe, that I have often wiſhed that the newly-imported ladies might be initiated into the faſhions of Madras by ſuch virtuous examples; but chance too often directs it otherwiſe, and, unfortunately, the ridiculous party moſt prevail.

I apprehend that fewer ladies would remain ſo long in the Indian market did they diſplay more of their abilities in the economy and management of a family than in adjuſting the etiquette of extravagant decoration; for, according to the preſent mode of life, none but the moſt opulent can venture upon the luxury of a wiſe. A young man who has his fortune to make, in the accompliſhment of ſuch a meaſure, ruſhes upon certain deſtruction: yet ſome there are ſo thoughtleſs as to dive haſtily into wedlock with theſe *extravaganzas* at the firſt *coup d'oeil*, which I conclude to be more fortunate for the lady than her huſband; as I have not a doubt but it is much eaſier for a gentleman to ſupport a whole zenana of Indians than the extravagance of one Engliſh lady.

The Europeans build in a moſt magnificent ſtyle here; and what adds much to the beauty of their houſes is a kind of lime, peculiar to this country, called *chunam*, which admits of a poliſh equal to marble. All the houſes, inſide and out, are plaſtered in the neateſt manner with this cement, which does not harbour vermin like paper or wainſcot. Every gentleman of note has a houſe upon *Choultry plain*, which, from being formerly a ſandy deſert, is now become a moſt beautiful retreat. I ſuppoſe there are not leſs than five or ſix hundred garden houſes ſcattered upon theſe grounds, all within a circle of ſix or ſeven miles, and none above three miles from the garriſon; nor is it eaſy to determine which of them is the handſomeſt. The houſes are moſt of them two ſtories high, and appear as if ſupported upon elegant pillars of various orders. The apartments are generally up ſtairs, and all on one floor; thoſe below being uſed as cellars, kitchens, &c. Piazzas are conſtructed all round the houſe, both above and below, which keep it extremely cool and pleaſant the whole day long. The roof is quite flat; where ſometimes gentlemen prefer ſleeping at night to any other place, on account of the cool ſituation, as no danger is to be apprehended from the dews in this country for about ſix or ſeven months in the year; yet it is not reckoned very prudent to expoſe one's ſelf much to the night air, particularly where there is a draught, it often proving very dangerous; for there is a wind which always blows from the land, or weſt, during the night, that has been known to deprive people of the uſe of their limbs in the courſe of a few hours, particularly thoſe that are unſeaſoned to the climate.

None but Europeans are permitted to ſleep all night in Fort St. George; the *Black Town*, of prodigious extent, ſituated beyond the north eſplanade of the garriſon, being allotted for the reſidence of the Indian merchants, dubaſhes, Armenians, and Portugueſe. The nabob has alſo a town-houſe here: it is ſurrounded by a ſtrong wall with baſtions, and is two or three miles in circumference.

All ranks of people in this country riſe at gun-firing in the morning, to receive the ſun in all his glorious ſplendour, and to enjoy a cool ride before he ſhoots forth his more powerful and oppreſſive rays. Breakfaſt is over by eight o'clock; and from that time till mid-day every perſon appears panting with the exceſſive heat and cloſeneſs of the air, until the refreſhing ſea-breeze ariſes from the ocean, and yields a ſalutary relief to the general diſtreſs. This is very naturally called the *doctor*: and, if we conſider the ſuperſtitious ideas of the Indians, it is a matter of ſurpriſe that they have never thought of adoring the ſea-breeze as a deity; for, in my opinion, it is the greateſt bleſſing they enjoy.

A circumſtance equally laughable and ſingular induces me to treſpaſs a little upon delicacy, in relating the manner in which the Indians obey the excretory impulſe of nature. There is no amuſement whatever in which they ſeem more ſociable than in this operation, which is generally performed at the hour of ſix in the morning. They firſt come out to the doors of their houſes, ſtretching themſelves three or four times, and then ſit down to waſh their mouths and pick their teeth, in which they are very cleanly. This being done, they next proceed in ſnug parties of about a dozen of men, women, and children (each having a little bit of ſmoking tobacco in his mouth to excite a relaxation), to the neighbouring fields, where thouſands of them at a time range themſelves in circles; and, ſquatting upon their hams, remain perhaps a full hour in that poſition talking over their family politics: nor are they in the leaſt diſcompoſed from ſtrangers paſſing by, conſidering it as a bleſſed recreation in which no one ought to be diſturbed. Each perſon being covered, in this attitude, from the morning dew, by a piece of white cotton cloth, they reſemble a flock of ſea-gulls ſpread upon a ploughed field. A concluſion is at laſt put to this tedious operation, by retiring to the next rivulet or pool in order to cleanſe themſelves; to which purpoſe the left hand is ſolely appropriated, and ſeldom ever uſed upon any other occaſion. The right hand is devoted to the nobler office of lifting the food to the mouth, knives or forks never being uſed, or any kind of ſubſtitute for them.

I have been often obliged, on account of this abominable nuiſance, when taking the morning air on horſeback, to gallop at leaſt half a mile with my fingers to my noſe. One would ſuppoſe that the people of Madras conſider the odour of human excrement as conducive to health, for they ſeem to take no ſteps of any kind to aboliſh this unſavoury practice.

LETTER

LETTER VII.

Madras, April 1780.

One day, as I walked upon the eſplinade of Fort St. George, a curioſity which I had long entertained was gratified by a ſight of Mahomed Ally Cawn, Nabob of Arcot, going from his town reſidence to his country palace, called *Chepauk-houſe*, upon Choultry plain, a place much reſembling a ſtate priſon. The ſtyle and appearance of his ſuite and equipage did not ſtrike me with that refulgent light in which I had been taught to conſider an Indian nabob. The old gentleman's hoary beard and penſive mien beſpoke him a prince of a dejected and oppreſſed mind; for while he paſſed the newly-arrived Europeans he caſt on them ſuch a glance of majeſty, blended with ſorrow, as one could not behold without compaſſion and reſpect. The expreſſion in his countenance ſeemed to ſay "Can you who are as yet unpolluted, and "ſtrangers to the depravity of your countrymen in this part of "the world, can you give any conſolation to, or aſſuage the pangs "of, an afflicted prince, who groans under an inſupportable load of "oppreſſion, impoſed upon him by the artifice of ſimulative friend-"ſhip?"

"ſhip?" His highneſs was accompanied by two of his ſons, the elder of whom ſeemed perfectly reſigned to wear the chains of an uſurped deſpotiſm when Providence ſhould think proper to relieve his father from the bondage; but the ſecond, named *Aumier*, bore the air of one who was impatient to avenge the indignities impoſed upon his anceſtors.

The manner in which the Company have eſtabliſhed ſurgeons and phyſicians in this country will ever perpetuate their humanity. I do not ſuppoſe that there is a place of the ſame extent on the face of the globe ſo well ſupplied with gentlemen of the faculty as the Company's ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies. This would be reckoned a great bleſſing in any place, even although their fees ſhould be high; but here the Company are at every expenſe, generouſly eaſing all the Europeans in their territories of this oppreſſive burden. All thoſe gentlemen are handſomely paid by the Company, and have, at particular times, ſuch other emoluments and appointments as to render their's the moſt advantageous profeſſion in India. They are ordered to attend, *gratis*, all patients from the higheſt to the loweſt, and never to refuſe a call: and it muſt be allowed that they obey their inſtructions in a manner the moſt attentive and genteel. It would offend were they to be offered any thing as a reward for their trouble; but it frequently happens that gratitude prompts the opulent to make them preſents of rings or diamonds of a very conſiderable value. A perſon is not even at the expenſe of his medicines here, for the Company have immenſe quantities of the very beſt drugs yearly ſent out from England for the uſe of the ſettlement, which are lodged in a large warehouſe, under the management and direction of the chief phyſicians, where they are carefully prepared for immediate uſe by ſkilful Portugueſe. When a ſurgeon is called to a patient, after examining his caſe, he gives him a written recipe with an order upon the medicine ſtore-room for whatever is wanted; upon producing which, a ſervant can at any time receive the medicines ready prepared; and there is hardly an inſtance of a miſtake being committed.

The diſorders moſt common amongſt the Europeans are bilious fevers, the liver complaint, bloody fluxes, and ruptures. Almoſt every perſon is more or leſs troubled with a redundancy of bile, which is of all others the moſt perplexing diſorder, completely unhinging the whole corporeal ſyſtem, and rendering one totally unfit for any kind of buſineſs or duty: it is the origin of all other complaints, for chiefly from an exceſs of bile proceeds the bloody flux, and from bilious obſtructions comes the liver. This is nothing more than bile clotted and hardened upon the liver, which, if not taken in time, brings on a mortification; and then an inciſion upon the ſide is neceſſary as the laſt reſource, in order to ſcrape or cut away the putrid matter. This diſorder firſt appears by a violent ſtitch in the right ſide, and ſometimes a pain in the ſhoulder; and is frequently preceded by a dyſentery. The moſt common ſymptoms of bile are, a weight and drowſineſs about the eyes, which become quite dim and inflamed, ſometimes feeling a ſharpneſs as if ſnuff had been thrown into them; a ſallow tinge in the complexion, a foul tongue with a copperiſh taſte in the mouth, a conſtant nauſea, an oppreſſion in breathing, an exceſſive languor and averſion to action, a great deſire to ſleep, which, however, is often broken by frightful dreams; and, laſtly, the ideas become quite diſtracted and broken. The liver is for the moſt part cured by the adminiſtration of mercury; which is uſed with very great effect in many diſorders incident to this warm climate. Tartar-emetic and rhubarb ſoon expel the bile; but an exact regimen is at the ſame time neceſſarily to be obſerved. Some minerals are reckoned, in extreme caſes, to be a ſovereign remedy; ſuch as thoſe of Cheltenham and Peterhead: but I have never heard of any waters under that denomination in India. The bile is certainly conſtitutional with many, but there is not a doubt of it's being very much increaſed by the groſs manner in which the Engliſh live here, and their exceſſive uſe of mixed liquors. The French have greatly the advantage of us in this point.

I cannot ſay much of the phyſical ſyſtem practiſed by the black people. Simples are moſt commonly adminiſtered; and their abſtemious manner of life ſoon effects a cure in caſes that would kill an European. Certain diſorders of a moſt pernicious nature are unfortunately too common amongſt them, which they patch up in the beſt manner poſſible with plaſters of ſtrong herbs or roots; a ſyſtem that renders many of them in a ſhort time perfect leopards; for one ſore is no ſooner healed than another breaks out. This is unfortunately their fate with moſt ulcerous diſtempers; and what gives them a ſingular appearance is that, wherever a wound of that nature has healed up, the ſkin grows white, giving thoſe afflicted the ſimilitude of piebalds. This extraordinary effect is alſo ſeen in any black perſon that happens to be drowned or ſtruck dead by lightning, their ſkin immediately turning white. Should two drowned men be driven on ſhore, the one an Indian, and the other an European, the difference betwixt them is only to be diſcovered by the teeth, which, in the Indian, are generally tinged by beetle-nut juice.

When a woman is diſcovered to have wounded her lover in the wars of Venus, her fine hair is inſtantly cut off cloſe by the neck, and ſhe is mounted backwards upon a jack-aſs, being obliged by the mob to ride in that diſgraceful manner through every ſtreet in the town. It is therefore prudent in ſtrangers at all times to beware of the ſhort-haired damſels.

In paſſing through the ſtreets of the Black Town one is greatly aſtoniſhed at the exceſſive lazineſs of the natives: the doors of their houſes are conſtantly crowded with men, women, and children, ſitting in a ſtate of inactive ſtupidity; nor is their curioſity in the leaſt arouſed by any ſtrange object that may paſs, even diſdaining the trouble of turning their heads to look at it. Should themſelves or children be in danger of getting cruſhed by an horſe or carriage, they will not move, nor put out their hands to draw back their infants, until the very moment of peril; nor do they retire an inch farther than is neceſſary, and even this is done with an air of viſible diſſatisfaction. They conſider eaſe as the chief luxury upon earth, uſing a maxim, " That it is better to walk than to run; to " ſit than to ſtand; but lying is beſt of all." And they are greatly aſtoniſhed that Europeans ſhould find any pleaſure in exerciſe.

Such is their delight in ſleep that they have not a ſpare moment which is not devoted to Morpheus, throwing themſelves down to reſt with the greateſt facility in any bye-corner, as a fatigued dog does when returned from the chaſe, and in an inſtant falling aſleep; nor are they ever in the leaſt diſcompoſed, although perhaps diſturbed ten times in an hour, happily renewing their nap at pleaſure.

An extraordinary ſet of men, called *faquiers*, wander about the country in the ſtyle of begging prieſts. They very much reſemble our field preachers in England; and are horridly disfigured with brick duſt, chunam, and other religious decorations; appearing like fanatics whilſt executing ſome ridiculous vow which they have made.

We have alſo ſeen here jugglers and conjurers who ſeemed very expert in their different occupations. Two performances in particular I was an eye-witneſs to of a very incredible nature, although done without the ſmalleſt diſguiſe.—The firſt was executed by a conjurer, who ſwallowed to the very hilt the blade of a broad-ſword, blunted in the edges and point, and about eighteen inches long, which I abſolutely felt in his ſtomach: the other was done by the ſame man, who ſwallowed a complete horſe's tail of about two feet long, introducing it into his mouth by the lower end, and gorging it to the very ſtump without diſtorting a feature in his face, though the uneven hairs muſt have pricked his throat as they deſcended. This perhaps may not gain an eaſy belief, but I can vouch for it as an undoubted fact. Theſe artful fellows are often conſidered as ſpies.

The Indians ſeem to have had but few ideas about architecture, or the powers of the *lever*, before the Europeans came amongſt them. They had no notion of building any thing but a *pagoda* or Gentoo church of one or two ſtories in height: and the method in which they carried on that ſtupendous ſtructure was aſtoniſhingly laborious and expenſive. In place of erecting ſcaffolds to facilitate the raiſing of their walls, prodigious quantities of earth were heaped up againſt them, extending the baſe as they aſcended; and at the ſame time keeping the maſonry perpendicular by means of a plummet. Immenſe large ſtones were in this manner eaſily rolled up upon the ſod to the very ſummit of the ſteeple; but by the time they had finiſhed the pagoda it was quite buried in a mountain. They had no ſooner however completed it than the earth was cleared away to the very bottom. In thoſe times labour muſt have been very cheap, for a common cooly may be now engaged for eight ſhillings per month. I make no doubt but that theſe buildings were carried on by voluntary and religious contributions.

The manner of building thoſe edifices is firſt by encloſing a large ſquare ſpace like a church-yard by a thick wall twelve or ſixteen feet in height; over the principal gates of which are erected the ſteeples, or what are termed in India the *pagodas*. They are conſtructed in a pyramidical form, upon a baſe of about ſixty or ſeventy feet ſquare, and built in a ſtyle which, to a Gentoo, appears magnificent; but which we would conſider as a clumſy maſs of carved ſtones, heaped upon each other without judgment or taſte. I know nothing that it reſembles more than the ſteeple of a glaſs-houſe. In the centre of the encloſure is excavated a tank of about one hundred and fifty yards ſquare, and twelve or fifteen feet deep; the ſides of which are lined with ſtone ſteps to the very bottom. A ſmall iſland is left in the middle of this pond, upon which is placed a *ſwamy* or great god; over whom is erected a temple ſupported upon pillars. On great feaſting days they make a kind of raft upon this tank, on which they paddle round Swamy, who is adorned with garlands and illuminations. They ſometimes place him upon the raft, ſurrounded by burning torches, and row round the edges of the tank ſinging a kind of ſacred muſic, accompanied by *tom-toms* and a harſh ſort of hautboy. Various kinds of temples are alſo built againſt the inſide of the walls, in which are depoſited thouſands of idols; ſuch as cows, rams, elephants, vultures, and monſtrous figures of fat men, with ſix or eight heads, legs, and arms, to each; and here alſo are ſtored all their riches, with the different implements uſed on their ceremonious feaſt-days.

What has been aſſerted by ſome authors concerning the mechanical genius of the Hindoos appears to me in the light of a paradox. They only prefer working from an European pattern, becauſe they wiſh to learn ſomething new in the way of their buſineſs, and that they may the more exactly pleaſe their employers; for I can vouch from experience that many of them are men of quick and ſagacious parts, only requiring a hint to execute your pleaſure. The *Trichinopoly chain* is a ſtrong proof of their inventive genius. It is made of either gold or ſilver, about the thickneſs of a quill, and ſo nicely linked and delicately finiſhed, that it is impoſſible for the eye to diſcern that it is not one ſolid piece of metal, although it may be eaſily twiſted round the hand. This chain very much reſembles a ſand eel, when made of ſilver, and is worn by the black people round their loins. The one end of it ſcrews into the other; and it is of ſuch exquiſite workmanſhip that, if once a link be broken, it can never be repaired.

The Indians are ſaid formerly to have rigidly adhered to the different religious ceremonies of their tribes; but ſince their intercourſe with the Europeans they have become more relaxed in thoſe duties, particularly the military caſts. The great inconvenience attending ſuch abſurd ideas in the field induced the Company's officers to labour at a reformation, and eradicate from the minds of the ſepoys their ſuperſtitious principles. Formerly none but Rajahpoots, Moormen, and Pitans, were permitted to carry arms; but the Europeans have ſince ſhewn that rigid diſcipline will make a ſoldier of a Pariar, the loweſt of all caſts; and now men of every tribe are indiſcriminately enliſted for ſepoys in the Company's ſervice.

None ſhould judge of the ſtature and appearance of the Eaſt-Indians from thoſe wretched outcaſts, who, to our diſgrace, are ſeen begging in ſuch ſwarms upon the ſtreets of London, they being in general a ſtout handſome race of people. I am informed that the Moormen, and Hindoos of Bengal in particular, are of a very gigantic ſize, none being admitted into the battalions under ſix feet high. Six feet four and five inches is the common ſtature of their grenadier companies; and they are withal extremely brawny and robuſt. An haughty pride, jealouſy, and revenge, are their predominant paſſions. In the heat of anger they uſe very abuſive language, but ſeldom are guilty of any violence.

LETTER

LETTER VIII.

Pondamalee, April 1780.

We have lately been preſent at ſome of the Indian feaſts, which are here both frequent and ſplendid, in honour of ſome idol, upon the celebration of marriage, or in commemoration of the exploits of their departed heroes, who are regarded as deities by theſe unhappy idolaters. I have ſeen upwards of thirty thouſand people aſſembled upon ſuch occaſions. Both men and women vie with each other at thoſe feſtivals in the adornment of their perſons with jewels, and their faces with cow-dung and ſaffron, which are as much in vogue with the ladies here as rouge is with thoſe in France. The principal amuſement at theſe entertainments are fireworks, in which they are very dexterous. An harſh kind of muſic from a tom-tom or drum, accompanied by a loud ruſtic pipe, ſounds from different parties throughout the throng, while expert cudgelers exhibit in the ſtyle of ancient gladiators, and dancing girls who diſplay amazing agility and grace in all their motions. Theſe women ſtroll about the country in queſt of employment, and are allowed to diſpoſe of themſelves to the oppoſite ſex at pleaſure. Some great men alſo entertain companies of them for the amuſement of their concubines in the zenana. Six or eight girls compoſe a troop: they are very gaudily dreſſed, and ornamented with jewels and other precious ſtones ſet in rings, that are worn in the noſtrils, round the neck and arms, and alſo upon the ancles and toes; having ſmall tinkling bells fixed to their ancles and elbows, which I think have rather an unpleaſing effect. When theſe damſels begin a dance they do not hop and ſkip like our ſtage dancers in England, but ſtrive, by ſlow and graceful motions, to diſplay the agility and elegance of their bodies and limbs, which are formed by nature in the moſt perfect ſymmetry. Theſe they twiſt into the moſt wanton poſtures imaginable, moving in excellent time, though the muſic is never above one meaſure ſucceſſively repeated. The dancers alſo accompany the muſic with amorous ſongs and a palpitation or heaving of the boſom, calculated to excite in the ſpectators correſpondent deſires. In this they are generally very ſucceſsful, continuing their laſcivious geſtures till, by the force of imagination and the heat of exerciſe, they become almoſt frantic with ecſtaſy, and ſink down in the moſt inviting attitudes motionleſs with fatigue. The concluſion of this ſcene it is unneceſſary to deſcribe. Where the paſſions rage in their utmoſt violence ſuch opportunities of indulgence are not to be loſt.

In this carnival ſome parties are alſo ſeen ſitting round a few glimmering lamps liſtening with much attention to the caterwauling of an old bard, who rehearſes in ſong the exploits of their anceſtors; whilſt others are entertained by conjurors, buffoons, and faquiers. But that which delights them moſt of all is dragging through the multitude a triumphal car of an immenſe ſize, upon which is placed a wooden ſteeple of a pagoda in miniature, finely ornamented with all kinds of flowers, and grandly illuminated with lamps and torches. It is ſupported upon four large wheels at leaſt three feet broad in the rim, and in it is placed a coloſſal fat figure of a god, ſitting upon a throne with a crown upon his head. This grand parade, being reſerved to the laſt, does not take place until three or four o'clock in the morning, the multitude in the mean time contenting themſelves with gazing at Swamy in utter aſtoniſhment and admiration. No leſs than a thouſand people at a time are appointed to drag the machine, paſſing with it in triumph through every ſtreet in the town; and the being yoked to this vehicle they conſider as diſcharging an important ſhare of their religious duties. The whole town being thus finely illuminated makes a ſplendid appearance, until the dawn of day puts an end to the revelry.

One moonlight evening, as I walked with a companion in the environs of this garriſon, we ſauntered towards a blazing fire ſurrounded by a number of black people, who made a doleful and melancholy noiſe with an uncommon kind of inſtrument. As we approached them our noſes were ſharply aſſailed by a ſavoury ſmell, ſomewhat like that of broiled bones or mutton chops; which led us to imagine that a ſumptuous feaſt was going on:—but how great was our aſtoniſhment to find them, upon a nearer inſpection, a few ſelect friends convened for the purpoſe of reducing to aſhes the body of a deceaſed relation! The corps was ſtretched at full length upon a number of burning faggots. As the fleſh was conſuming it made a hiſſing noiſe, whilſt all the friends were ſinging a mournful ditty accompanied by the tom-tom, their moſt favourite inſtrument, and a prodigious large trumpet made expreſsly for this purpoſe; from which iſſued a groaning ſound ſufficient to impreſs the mind with an idea of the laſt trumpet. Burning the dead is an univerſal practice all over this country, excepting with the Mahometans, who bury theirs as we do.

If a ſtranger or any other perſon ſhould happen to have his effects ſtolen from him by an Indian (which, by the by, ſeldom ever happens) he muſt immediately inform the *hamildar*, or head man of the diſtrict wherein the theft was committed, of its value, and all the particulars, who will inſtantly endeavour to apprehend the culprit. And ſuch are the excellent regulations eſtabliſhed by the nabob amongſt his people, that, if the hamildar, or his conſtables, do not diſcover the thief, he muſt reſtore the full value of what is loſt to the ſufferer; which makes them ſo alert, that, when any thing of this kind occurs, the offender very ſeldom eſcapes. Flagellation is the only puniſhment inflicted in ſuch caſes, beſides the reſtoration of the ſtolen goods. I have never ſeen any thing like a priſon amongſt them: and crimes of this nature are ſo ſeldom perpetrated, that every perſon reſts in the moſt perfect ſecurity, always leaving the doors and windows of their houſes open the whole night long.

The face of this country is beautifully adorned with a variety of extenſive foreſts, ſhady groves, and ſpacious avenues, which are a bleſſed recreation to travellers in this ſultry climate, that would otherwiſe be intolerable indeed. But, as I am no naturaliſt, you muſt not expect me to deſcribe all the curious productions of the earth in the minute and technical ſtyle of a botaniſt. Nothing comes from my pen but what ſuddenly ſtrikes the eye of a ſtranger, with which I hope you will be ſatisfied, as the ſubject is of itſelf ſo copious that the attendance which my profeſſion requires frequently obliges me to abridge it in many places.

The Cocoa-nut; the Mango, the Tamarind, Bamboo, Banian, and Palmira trees, are the moſt common productions of this ſoil: Plantations of the cocoa-nut are very valuable, as this tree produces many neceſſaries of life, particularly a refreſhing kind of drink, called toddy, which is extracted or oozes from its branches. An inferior ſort of this liquor is alſo taken from the Palmira tree. Groves of young cocoas have a pleaſing effect to the eye: each of them is ſaid to yield about five pence per day to its owner; nor do they require any attention or care after a certain age.

The banian tree is very remarkable, majeſtically towering with above all the natives of the grove. Nature ſeems to have expreſsly formed it as a counterpoiſe to the heat, for it is not otherwiſe ſerviceable. Its ſingular appearance conveys to one the idea of a ſuperb amphitheatre. It grows firſt in one prodigious trunk, which riſes perpendicularly from the ground, appearing like vaſt numbers of thick vine roots cemented together in a cluſter; and, when it arrives at the height of twelve or fifteen feet, ſix or eight large branches ſhoot out horizontally from it in every direction. When theſe have projected about ten or twelve feet from the centre, younger branches, or fibres like ſmall ropes, iſſue and deſcend from the lower part of their extremities; and in a few years reaching to the ground take root again; and, receiving freſh nouriſhment and vigour grow to a large ſize, ſhooting forth freſh branches in the ſame manner as already deſcribed. The main trunk in the mean time riſes to a great height, and at certain diſtances diſcharges new horizontal branches, which generally drop their fibres to the ground through the interſtices below; and, if upon their deſcent they ſhould happen to fall upon the lower branches, they join in the form of a knot, and incline to the earth in one united body. It bears a large green leaf like the horſe-cheſnut. All the principal avenues are formed of theſe ſtately trees; and the Indians prefer building their ſwamy-houſes, moſques, and choultries, under their extenſive ſhade, to any other ſituation. One would ſuppoſe that he had got into the body of a large gothic cathedral in walking through one of theſe avenues. The largeſt banian tree ſaid to be in the Carnatic grows within two miles of Cuddalore, which it is affirmed can ſcreen at one time upwards of two thouſand people from the influence of the ſun. Nothing, in my idea, could adorn the extenſive lawns and policy of an Engliſh nobleman's villa more magnificently than the banian: and I think it would be worth the trouble of the curious to try if it will proſper in our climate, either from the plant or the ſeed. Captains of ſhips might eaſily bring ſhrubs of this kind home, preſerved in large flower-pots in their cabins.

The foliage here retains a perpetual green, the old leaves never dropping until young ones are ready to ſucceed; yet it muſt be confeſſed that neither the leaves nor the graſs wears that beautiful verdure ſo pleaſing to the eye in temperate climates. Every production of this ſoil appears parched and burnt up, excepting the rice fields. The leaves are always covered with duſt and ſand: and the graſs is either ſo ſhort, or ſo long and wild, as conſtantly to have a withered or reddiſh hue. Hay is never made here, becauſe the heat will not allow the graſs to arrive at ſufficient perfection; it is therefore pulled up by the root as occaſion requires. And ſo aſtoniſhingly rapid is the vegetation to a certain length, that, in the ſpace of one night after a ſhower of rain, I have ſeen a ſandy deſart, where not a pile was perceptible, covered with luxuriant verdure.

As yet I have ſeen but few of the cotton ſhrubs. They appear like an old bur-buſh. I ſhould ſuppoſe that plantations of them are ſcarce in the Carnatic, although cotton is the ſtaple commodity of the manufactories of this country. Thorn hedges are ſometimes placed in gardens; but in the fields the milk buſh is moſt commonly uſed. It bears this name from being of a ſoft and porous nature, when ſqueezed emitting a whitiſh juice like milk that is deemed a deadly poiſon. All animals are taught by inſtinct, as men are by experience, to avoid it. An horſe will have his head and eyes prodigiouſly ſwelled from ſtanding for ſome time under the ſhade of a milk hedge.

A plant reſembling the leaves of an artichoke, but ten times longer, more formidable and prickly, is placed in dry ditches of forts, or other places of defence, and forms an impenetrable barrier; being ſo ſtrong and pointed in every direction that neither man nor beaſt can force it. This ſhrub I think would be an acquiſition in England, if the cold did not affect its growth.

This country ſwarms ſo much with inhabitants that the public and private roads are for ever crowded with paſſengers, like one of the principal ſtreets in London. They are chiefly employed in the cotton manufactories and the culture of rice. The ſhady groves and villages teem with cotton-weavers; and it is aſtoniſhing to ſee with what ſimplicity they carry on their work, uſing no other inſtruments, to appearance, than three or four pieces of ſticks, with which they finiſh a web in the courſe of a fortnight. Inſtead of a loom they extend the yarn from one tree to another while the web is weaving.

Their manner of agriculture is equally ſimple, though perhaps not ſo conſiſtent with propriety. The plough is a plain machine with only one handle to it, and dragged by a ſingle bullock or buffalo, never turning up above two or three inches of the ground. The rice is removed from its firſt bed, and tranſplanted into regular drills, after the ſtem has grown about ſix inches long. It is then left to a bountiful Providence, who does more for them in this part of the world than their indolence merits. A pump, ſituated upon an eminence, and worked the whole day by two men, who count every bucket of water they throw out in a ſong, is alloted to every three or four fields for watering them through the day. Every field is ſurrounded by a low bank; and channels of communication are made from the pump to each of them, which are in the day-time conſtantly overflowed.

In traverſing theſe regions one does not find inns at proper ſtations upon the roads as in Europe. Here it is cuſtomary for all perſons to carry their ſervants and proviſions along with them; and they put up in apartments called *choultries*, which are built in convenient ſituations upon the roads, and in the vicinity of towns, for the accommodation of paſſengers during the night, or the moſt ſultry part of the day; for none travel here, unleſs obliged to it by neceſſity, when the ſun approaches his meridian. Theſe habitations are, for the moſt part, built from charitable motives by the opulent Gentoos or Moormen, as a convenience for the wearied traveller. They think in this with ſome Roman Catholics, who imagine that, by the erection of a public monaſtery before their death, they atone for a life of ſin. This proves their conſciouſneſs of frailty and dread of the vengeance of a Supreme Being. Choultries are generally conſtructed in the form of a ſquare, with the face open towards the north, and flat on the top. On the ſhady ſide of the moſt magnificent ſeveral piazzas project, ſupported

ported upon pillars, one without another, through which you aſcend by a flight of ſteps to the inner apartment, where the paſſenger repoſes; his ſervants, if he has any, taking their ſtations in the *verranda* or outer hall. A tank of water is always to be found in the neighbourhood of theſe inns. The poor natives generally give way to the rich, and all thoſe to an European gentleman, if he chooſes to exact that deference.

LETTER IX.

Pondamalee, May 1780.

Sɪɴᴄᴇ our regiment has been quartered in this garriſon we have been frequently viſited by horſe-jockies; who, for artifice and impoſition, are equal to any in that line at Newmarket. Horſes are of double the value here to what they are in England. Handſome but very wild, an European even of ſkill is almoſt afraid to mount one of them; for the Moormen, who are always the horſe-dealers, delight in teaching them the moſt vicious pranks. A black horſe is ſeldom to be met with; the moſt common colours being duns, light and dark bays, greys and piebalds. It is difficult to match them for the cavalry, and equally ſo to train them for war.

The Moors have a very ſingular method of fattening their horſes for ſale. Could you or any other European ſuppoſe a ſheep's head to be the chief food uſed for that purpoſe? This however is abſolutely the caſe. The head is boiled until the fleſh parts freely from the bone: the fleſh is then made up into balls mixed with cooling ſpices, and put into his *gram* (a ſmall kind of pulſe univerſally uſed inſtead of oats) twice or three times a day: and this proceſs is concluded by a doſe of *marſall* or purgative ſpices regularly once a fortnight adminiſtered to him. From ſkin and bone, this kind of food will render an horſe, in leſs than two months, perfectly plump; but his fleſh, though it looks well, will be found of a flabby texture. It generally anſwers, however, the purpoſe of the ſeller; and, if the buyer takes care to feed him well upon harder food for a few months afterwards, he will ſoon bring his horſe to a firm condition.

When a jockey brings forth his horſe to be viewed for ſale he has him handſomely capariſoned with cloth houſing, and ornamented with party-coloured trappings. His mouth is managed by a ſtrong iron bit, made in the form of a *cheveaux de friſe*, the leaſt touch of which ſets him upon his mettle, and pricks him to ſuch a degree that he gets quite enraged almoſt as ſoon as he is mounted: yet the rider has by the force of this machine the entire command over him, either bringing him at full gallop to a ſudden ſtop, or turning him whither he pleaſes. In this manner the jockey makes him prance about and cut dexterous capers, occaſionally chiding him in the Mooriſh language, until the animal becomes quite animated and warm, when all at once he ſets off at full career to the diſtance of about a quarter of a mile and back again; and then the artful horſeman draws up his foaming ſteed for your approbation. Theſe horſes are ungovernable with a common Engliſh bit; and an European in managing the Mooriſh bridle is very apt to make the horſe rear and fall back, which indeed they are ready to do upon all occaſions. An horſe is ſeldom to be met with that has not ſome particular blemiſh in his limbs, occaſioned by the harſh treatment they receive from theſe Indians; nor have they, in the jockey phraſe, any mouth.

It is prudent in any gentleman that means to purchaſe an horſe from one of thoſe fellows, after being fully ſatisfied that he is ſound, to get a trial of him for ſome days with the Engliſh bridle and ſaddle, which the owner will readily grant if the horſe be really good for any thing, as he may have ſome concealed vicious habit that at firſt ſight is not to be diſcovered: but I would adviſe the rider to be very wary when at practice.

Elephants and camels are animals of too much magnitude and importance in this country any longer to eſcape our obſervation. Elephants are of various ſizes when full grown, being from ſeventeen to twenty feet high; and a young calf may be about the ſize of one of our largeſt fat oxen in England. It is really curious to ſee the clumſy manner in which they practiſe the gambols of youth. As the extraordinary docility and powers of this animal are already ſo well authenticated, it will be unneceſſary for me to expatiate much upon the ſubject; I ſhall only obſerve, therefore, that they are chiefly uſed for two important purpoſes by the princes of this country, few elſe being able to keep them, as they are exceedingly expenſive, and of value from fifteen hundred to two thouſand pagodas each. The firſt of theſe purpoſes is for ſtate-parades; a ſquare tower called a *howder*, capable of containing four or five perſons, and handſomely gilt and adorned, being placed upon his back with girths like a ſaddle. They are alſo trained for war, carrying a heavy iron chain, five or ſix yards long, in their trunks, which they are taught to wield amongſt the ranks in a furious manner, and to trample upon all that come in their way. The other important ſervices which they perform are the carrying loads that no animals but themſelves can move; ſuch as the tents of an army, cannon, or other unwieldy military ſtores. The elephant is trained to lie down upon his belly at command, in order to be loaded with facility, and then riſes cautiouſly up again, ſupporting a load fit for a ſmall ſtage-waggon upon the Engliſh road. One man only guides him ſitting croſs-legged upon his neck; and with an inſtrument like a ſmall pick-axe, and a language underſtood by both parties, turns him at pleaſure by two or three ſtrokes of this hammer upon a certain tender part on the top of the elephant's head. When the monſter ſtands he is mounted by a ladder, or climbing up by his tail; and he will ſometimes bend his knee a little for a perſon to aſcend over his ſhoulders. His ears ſeem more out of proportion than any other part of his body, being as large as, and much reſembling, an overgrown ſcate-fiſh, which they conſtantly flap about to keep off the flies. The pace of the elephant ſeems ſlow; but he nevertheleſs makes very conſiderable way; and, when put to it, can get into a kind of lounging trot. He is fed upon ſtraw, or the branches of trees and bruſhwood. I have ſeen one of them eat three or four truſſes of ſtraw to his breakfaſt, without being ſatisfied; and it is ſurpriſing to ſee with what cleanlineſs he draws and prepares the ſtraw with his trunk or ſnout, in which his ſenſitive power is really incredible. Let him be placed for refreſhment at the root of a common ſized tree, and he will perfectly denude it with his proboſcis. It ſhould ſeem that the entrails of an elephant are formed upon a ſimpler conſtruction than thoſe of any other animal; for the food undergoes very little change in paſſing through his ſtomach, his ordure being a mere lump of chewed ſticks and ſtraw; and this ſeems the more likely, as his keeper is obliged to adminiſter a bolus of emollient ſpices regularly every night to facilitate digeſtion. Contrary to the nature of all other animals, ſuch is their modeſty, that they embrace the means of propagation up to their necks in water for fear of being ſeen.

To ſhew the impreſſion that the reproof of his keeper makes upon the elephant, they tell an extraordinary ſtory of one in the late wars that was brought to raiſe a twenty-four pounder out of a ſlough with his trunk, with which, though in vain, he made many able exertions. At laſt his keeper, having loſt all patience, uſed many ſevere terms of reproach, exclaiming "For ſhame! a "powerful monſter like you incapable of moving ſo ſmall a weight "as that! Exert yourſelf, or your reputation is loſt for ever! "Shew that you ought to have been by right the king of ani-"mals—What! no more force from a hero like you!" And ſo on, until at laſt, finding his prowels unequal to the taſk aſſigned him, and ſeeing that he could not effect the will of his maſter, the elephant overſtrained himſelf to ſuch a degree that, in a fit of chagrin and deſpair, he dropped dead upon the ſpot. For the truth of this I cannot vouch, but it has been related to me as a fact.

Camels are alſo uſed in the army, and in other ways, for carrying heavy loads and going long journies. They travel beſt in dry weather, and will trot ninety or a hundred miles a day if ſent upon an expreſs. They are extremely vicious; and the keeper, or what they call a *camel-bircarrah*, lives but a ſhort time, from the exceſſive fatigue of riding at ſuch a rate upon theſe rough-paced animals.

Tigers are ſo ferocious and numerous in this country that ſome villages in the neighbourhood of hills and mountains are obliged regularly to lodge their cattle and ſhut up their doors before ſun-ſet.

During the ſpring months the climate here is tolerably cool and temperate; but at this ſeaſon the barometer ordinarily ſtands at ninety, and ſometimes riſes to one hundred and twenty degrees. It is now the month of May; and the weather is become ſo intenſely hot and diſagreeable that one cannot, with the ſmalleſt degree of pleaſure, ſit down to any occupation, being under the neceſſity even at table of having an handkerchief placed on each ſide to wipe away the exceſſive perſpiration. It is even with difficulty that I can proceed with this letter from the drops that fall from my forehead upon the paper, wetting it like a *billet-doux* from the weeping eyes of a deſponding lover. Some people in this ſeaſon change their linen three or four times a-day, which, in my opinion, is labour in vain; as that newly put on becomes as moiſt in one minute as the former; and the heat relaxing a perſon ſo much that he becomes quite feeble and exhauſted before the operation of ſhifting is completed. Gentlemen are, however, ſometimes agreeably refreſhed in the morning by having ſeveral pots of cool water thrown over them as they riſe from their beds; but this is only a temporary relief. Thoſe who wear wigs moſt certainly enjoy this luxury in greater perfection than with the natural hair. An European muſt be very cautious how he bathes in the open air; for, before he can redreſs himſelf, he is liable to have the ſkin of his back entirely ſtripped off by the ſun; in which caſe it muſt be immediately anointed with oil or ſpirits.

The heat of the ſun is not the only oppreſſion felt at this ſeaſon of the year, there being a wind which regularly blows ſtrong from the land for four months without ceaſing, that in the day-time conveys a burning heat, and during the night occaſions quite a contrary ſenſation. I do not exaggerate much when I compare the feeling, ariſing from a guſt of thoſe ſcorching winds, to that of thruſting one's face into the door of an heated oven; and it inſtantly cracks the ſkin in the moſt painful manner. Theſe gales are ſeen ſome time before they arrive, driving furiouſly from the weſt in great whirlwinds and tornadoes, raiſing, to the very heavens, ſand, and every thing elſe which they encounter, in awful clouds and pillars of duſt. They very much reſemble thoſe partial ſpring-ſhowers, which, in England, frequently deſcend in a ſudden manner from the hills: but ſuch gales are ſeldom ever attended with rain. It is aſſerted that thoſe land-winds are frequently ſo violent as to unroof houſes and raiſe ſmall cattle into the air. Indeed I have myſelf found it difficult to keep my legs when caught in one of thoſe whirlwinds; and you know that I am not one of the lighteſt men in the world. When they are ſeen approaching all doors and windows are inſtantly barricadoed, to prevent ſuffocation from ſand and duſt, and having every thing in the houſe rendered uſeleſs. I have been of a party when one of thoſe tornadoes forced us to encloſe ourſelves in this manner, and to ſit down by candle-light to dinner, which rendered the heat intolerably ſuffocating. Notwithſtanding the manner in which the doors and windows were thus blocked up, the ſand and duſt was forced by the wind through many imperceptible crevices, and fell ſo thick upon our plates as to be taken up upon the point of a knife like pounded pepper.

The land-winds are lulled towards the evening; and before it is midnight become quite cold. This tranſition is reckoned very unwholeſome; and if a perſon ſleeps where there is a ſtrong draught of air, which an European is naturally led to do from the heat, he will in all probability loſe the uſe of his limbs before morning upon the ſide expoſed to the wind.

Our regiment has found it impoſſible to wear the Highland dreſs any longer in this country; we are therefore now clothed in white hats and trowſers, apparel better ſuited to an hot climate: but I believe, notwithſtanding this, that ſome of our ſoldiers would have braved the utmoſt rage of the Muſquitoes rather than quit their native dreſs.

We were, in the beginning of this month, publicly reviewed at this place (Pondamalee) by the governor and General Munro, accompanied by many foreign envoys or vakeels. Majors Elphinſton and Mackenzie were much and deſervedly commended by the general, for their attention to the diſcipline of the corps, which that day muſtered eight hundred men upon the parade, and made a very martial appearance. All who were preſent, even Hyder Ally's ambaſſador, acknowledged that we were very fit for immediate ſervice. But I am ſorry to add that, ſince the review, the infernal land-winds have greatly increaſed our ſick liſt, and ſent many of our beſt men to their graves. It is truly melancholy to obſerve how quickly theſe fine fellows are cut off, who, in a more temperate climate, might render eminent ſervice to their country.

Providence ſurely never intended that Europeans ſhould carry their conqueſts thus far from their native ſhores; for their emigration hither is certainly meant as a puniſhment and ſcourge. No one, in my opinion, that could exiſt in his native country, would ever wiſh to ſpend the beſt, or indeed any, part of his life in this, were he once ſenſible of the difference. Even the allurements of wealth can be no compenſation for the riſks and hardſhips incident in a climate ſo foreign to his conſtitution, if life and happineſs be his principal deſires. The infinite perplexities ariſing in this ungenial region, and its vaſt diſtance from home, abſolutely eraſe from a man's mind all ideas of zeal for the welfare of his country. Here patriotiſm evaporates through the ſtream of perſpiration; and, when the native juices are once exhauſted, he becomes an indifferent alien, ending his exiled being in miſery and diſcontent. I much wiſh, my dear friend, that theſe reflections would be an inducement with my worthy countrymen, for whom I freely *perſpire* as yet, to content themſelves at home, and ſeek for real happineſs where it is moſt likely to be found.

I doubt not, as you have heard ſo much about Indian opulence, but you are ere now impatient to know the full amount of our annual receipts from the Company. I have therefore ſubjoined to this letter a true ſtatement of the pay and allowances, in ſterling money, as granted to all ranks of officers upon the Madras eſtabliſhment.

The Company's agreement with the king's troops, as recorded in their public letter which accompanied the ſeventy-third regiment in 1779, is, that a gratuity ſhall be given to them monthly, which, added to the king's pay, ſhall make it equal to their own; and that they ſhall always receive the *ſame pay* and *field allowances* as *any* of their own troops engaged upon the ſame ſervice with them. His Majeſty's officers are alſo to take rank of all thoſe of the Company that bear the ſame commiſſion with themſelves; which, impartially ſpeaking, ſeems rather an hardſhip upon the Company's experienced officers. Nothing, however, can be more flattering to the king's troops than this compact, if ſtrictly adhered to; of which we entertain no doubt, conſcious that our royal maſter will ſee every juſtice done to his own troops; particularly when ſerving in defence of ſuch diſtant territories. And, permit me to tell you, my dear friend, it is a comfortable reflection to us (and what indeed I think every Briton ſhould glory in) to be the ſubjects of a benevolent and generous ſovereign, whoſe heart is ever diſpoſed to redreſs their ſlighteſt grievances. What elſe could ſtimulate our zeal and inflame our actions in a diſagreeable foreign country at the diſtance of ten thouſand miles from home? Without ſuch protection and ſupport, be aſſured that military ardour would ſpeedily decline.

The coins of this country are pagodas, rupees, fanams, and caſh. The laſt is fictitious, like our pound ſterling; but of leſs value than an halfpenny, ſix of them making only a fanam, worth about two pence ſterling. Twelve fanams, or two ſhillings, make a rupee; and four rupees, or eight ſhillings, are equal to a ſtar-pagoda as it is given for a bill of exchange upon London:—for you muſt underſtand the original value of a pagoda is only ſeven ſhillings and ſix pence, or forty-five fanams; at which ſtandard the troops are paid: and ſix one-fourth *per cent.* or the odd ſix pence, is commonly the difference of exchange which the drawer of a bill receives. But ſometimes ſuch is the demand for paymaſters or navy-bills, that there is from twelve to fifteen *per cent.* in his favour. Twelve *per cent.* is the legal intereſt of this ſettlement: but we have here abundance of uſurers, who make no ſcruple of taking ſeventy and one hundred *per cent.* with jewels in pawn as ſecurity until the principal and intereſt are paid. This indeed is a common mode of accumulating a rapid fortune in the Eaſt; but a certain capital is requiſite to commence with. Some black merchants, that will perhaps clear two hundred *per cent.* in other countries, find it their intereſt in the courſe of trade to give this exorbitant difference; but in the end the military, who are the principal conſumers, feel it the moſt. To this may be imputed the conſtant indigence that reigns in the army: for, although the pay is double what it is at home, yet the ſupport of a thouſand luxuries and extravagancies, which have been wantonly introduced into theſe ſettlements, bring it to the ſame end; that is, a bare exiſtence. Economy is ſo ſpurned at and diſeſteemed, that the very utterance of ſuch a mean word would be enough to exclude a young man from all ſociety; without which you may imagine exiſtence would become a burden in this ungenial clime: one is therefore obliged through neceſſity to conform to cuſtom, however repugnant it may be to his intereſt. The only difference betwixt an officer in India and one in England is, that the one enjoys a little more ſtyle, the other much greater comfort. It is however a happy circumſtance for thoſe engaged in a military life here, that their minds are for ever anticipating ſome advantageous change in affairs that may probably better their fortunes. It is natural for all of us to credit moſt readily that report which we moſt anxiouſly wiſh to ſee verified. Nothing is heard now in every barrack and every quarter but of war, promotion, prize-money, and batta, or, as it is termed in England, bat and forage-money, which is here, in the field, almoſt double the peace allowance. Theſe ideas of war originate from a report at preſent circulating through the country, and ſeriouſly alarming to the inhabitants, that Hyder Ally Cawn, nabob and general of the Miſore army, who is reputed to be an able officer, but a turbulent neighbour to the Carnatic, is intent upon breaking with us, that he may have ſome pretext to join in the general conflagration which now threatens the Eaſt-India Company's affairs. It would appear, however, from the unſuſpicious tranquillity of the Madras council, that the report is without foundation, though it ſeems to have raiſed among the natives in general an uncommon ſhare of terror and diſmay.

STATE *of the* Subſiſtence *and* Gratuity *, *and alſo of the* Full Batta † *paid by the* Eaſt India Company *to their* Troops *upon the* Madras *eſtabliſhment* ‡ *for a month of thirty days.*

As Field Officers are paid their emoluments from the Company's Jaghiers, which often fluctuate, they are not here inserted; however, let it ſuffice to obſerve, that the allowances to Field Officers bear a good proportion to thoſe of other ranks.			Subſiſtence and Gratuity.			Full Batta.			Total in the field per month of thirty days.		
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Artillery.	Captain,		21	0	0	19	4	0	40	4	0
	Lieutenant,		11	5	0	12	16	0	24	1	0
	Lieutenant fire-worker,		7	9	0	9	12	0	17	1	0
	Serjeant,	These are victualed by the Company when in the field.	2	8	0	0	0	0	2	8	0
	Corporal,		2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
	Bombadier,		1	16	0	0	0	0	1	16	0
	Gunner,		1	12	0	0	0	0	1	12	0
	Matroſs,		1	4	0	0	0	0	1	4	0
	Drummer,		1	4	0	0	0	0	1	4	0
Cavalry.	Captain,		26	0	6	19	4	0	45	4	6
	Lieutenant,		16	10	0	12	16	0	29	6	0
	Cornet,		13	9	0	9	12	0	23	1	0
	Serjeant,	—Victualed by the Company in the field.	2	16	0	0	0	0	2	16	0
	Subedar,	No batta allowed to theſe at any time.	12	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	0
	Jemedar,		4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
	Havildar,		2	8	0	0	0	0	2	8	0
	Naigue,		1	16	0	0	0	0	1	16	0
	Farrier,		2	8	0	0	0	0	2	8	0
	Trumpeter,		1	4	0	0	0	0	1	4	0
	Trooper,		1	4	0	0	0	0	1	4	0
European Infantry.	Captain,		19	10	0	19	4	0	38	14	0
	Lieutenant,		10	10	0	12	16	0	23	6	0
	Enſign,		7	9	0	9	12	0	17	1	0
	Serjeant,	Theſe are victualed by the Company in the field.	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
	Corporal,		1	7	0	0	0	0	1	7	0
	Drummer,		1	7	0	0	0	0	1	7	0
	Private,		1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Sepoy Infantry.	Subedar,		6	8	0	1	14	6	8	2	6
	Jemedar,		1	16	0	0	17	3	2	13	3
	Havildar,		1	1	6	0	7	0	1	8	6
	Naigue,		0	17	6	0	7	0	1	4	6
	Sepoy,		0	12	6	0	7	0	0	19	6
	Drummer,		0	12	6	0	7	0	0	19	6
	Buccalie—or a man that conſtantly draws water for the battalion,		1	0	0	0	7	0	1	7	0

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* It muſt be underſtood that the Company's eſtabliſhed pay to their troops is no more than Government allows to the army at home; but, in conſideration of the extra expenſes incident to this country, it was thought neceſſary to augment their incomes to nearly double, which addition is called *gratuity*.

† *Half batta* implies a ſtill greater allowance from the ſame conſideration when in frontier or in land garriſons. *Full batta* ſignifies bât and forrage money when in the field; and the *full batta* is doubled when any of the troops march beyond their own territories upon ſervice.

‡ The pay and allowances differ materially in each ſettlement.

LETTER X.

Pondamalee, July 1780.

It will no doubt aſtoniſh you to find that, from the ſtate of tranquillity in which my laſt letter left this ſettlement, we are now ſtruggling hard amidſt all the horrors of war to repel the violent inroads and depredations of the Miſore army, which had long been predicted by the natives; although, unfortunately for this country, nothing but the dreadful calamities attendant upon the ſword of a barbarian was ſufficient either to forewarn or convince the Madras council of Hyder Ally's warlike preparations.

Here I ſhould wiſh to delineate, with ſome degree of certainty, the real ſource of thoſe broils in which the Company have of late years involved themſelves; but, as it is next to an impoſſibility for one in my ſtation to obtain a thorough knowledge of their clandeſtine tranſactions in this country, myſteries which I believe can only be ſolved by their original projectors, you muſt be contented with the prevailing opinions upon that ſubject throughout this ſettlement.

It may not, however, be amiſs firſt to preſent you with a curſory view of the conduct of the Company for ſome years antecedent to their preſent embarraſſments, which, though perhaps deficient in many points, may nevertheleſs tend to develope ſome of the ſecret motives by which they have been moſt commonly actuated.

It appears by the firſt charter which thoſe merchants obtained from Government, that the chief object in contemplation from voyaging hither was ſimply a commercial intercourſe with the Indians, which then ſeemed to be the ſummit of their ambition. After obtaining, however, a thorough knowledge of the meek and puſilanimous diſpoſition of theſe unfortunate natives, the inexhauſtible wealth of their country, the vaſt ſuperiority of European tactics to thoſe of Aſia; and having alſo compared, with an envious eye, their own ſlow progreſs in the accumulation of riches by fair and honeſt traffic, with the opulent and eaſy acquiſitions that a leſs ſcrupulous conſcience yielded to the Mahomedan conquerors; they were ſoon induced, by ſuch rapacious conſiderations, to blend war with commerce, ſo naturally adopting the policy and deceitful manners of the Moors, that I believe nothing but the act of circumciſion was wanting to render them complete muſſulmen.

This change firſt began by augmenting their forces, and afterwards lending them out as mercenaries to either Mahomedan or Gentoo, as opportunity offered, eagerly however preferring the prince that ſhould cede to them moſt *jaghiers** and money as a recompenſe for their ſervices. By this means they ſoon became ſo formidable and renowned in arms as to take the reſponſibility of invaſion, conqueſt, and innocent bloodſhed, upon themſelves, attacking the powers of India upon ſelfiſh ſpeculation as their avarice and ambition dictated, and continuing wantonly to ſport away the lives of their countrymen, until they had, by the moſt diſhonourable acts of injuſtice and oppreſſion, rendered the Britiſh name odious in all the Indian courts, and uſurped the immenſe territories now in their poſſeſſion, which at preſent take no leſs than a ſtanding army of an hundred thouſand fighting men to defend them.

The Indians in their turn made, from time to time, many noble ſtruggles againſt the Engliſh depredators, in which none ſhone more conſpicuouſly than the Marrattas under their different chiefs, and the Miſorians under Hyder Ally Cawn. But theſe, conſcious of their inferiority, were often obliged, in order to preſerve the balance of power, and effectually avenge their cauſe, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of France, who it may be readily ſuppoſed never failed to embrace an opportunity of aggrandizing herſelf at the expenſe of Great Britain. This occaſioned frequent viciſſitudes in the affairs of the Eaſt India Company: but they are poſſeſſed of ſuch infinite reſources, both by ſea and land, that they have hitherto contrived, more from good fortune than good management, to keep poſſeſſion of their plunder. Yet I fear a period is drawing nigh, when they, and every other European intruder, will be forced to withdraw from the Oriental ſhores, and content themſelves with the leſs ſplendid productions of their native land.

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* Territories.

In order to illuſtrate what has been already ſaid, I need only lay before you the following ſketch of a war, which, without the leaſt provocation or colouring of reaſon, has, ever ſince the year 1774, been waged againſt the Marrattas, with no leſs enmity than the Punic wars of Carthage and Rome. Prudence, in the ſupreme tribunals of India, was at this time unfortunately ſubjugated by avarice and ambition; and, regardleſs of the fatal conſequences that might enſue from the dark conſpiracies and threats of all Europe to humble the power of Great Britain in all her territories, of which the Company were duly forewarned, yet they ſtrenuouſly perſiſted in perſecuting the Marrattas and all their friends, until at laſt the Indians, fearful of approaching diſſolution, were obliged to form ſuch a confederacy in their own defence as now ſeems to threaten nothing leſs than annihilation to the India Company. Hence may be ſeen the real ſource of all our preſent calamities in the eaſt. It was not ſurpriſing that every ſcheme planned in India ſhould prove abortive, when it was affirmed that almoſt every council teemed with people ſo ſelf-intereſted, and totally deſtitute of principle, that national honour, and the intereſt of their maſters, were leaſt of all the objects of their conſideration.

The Marrattas are in the DECAN ſomething ſimilar to what the Germans are in Europe—an immenſe empire compoſed of many ſubordinate principalities, which were formerly governed by an elected chief, generally the moſt diſtinguiſhed for abilities and valour. His title is *Ram Rajah,* or emperor, whoſe throne was eſtabliſhed at a place called *Setterah,* in the very heart of their dominions. United under this head, the Marrattas were always deemed powerful and invincible in the eyes of all their neighbours, and are now the only nations of India who never were effectually conquered by the Mahomedans. At preſent thoſe chiefs aſſume each an air of independency, yet ſtill yielding a kind of tacit allegiance to their Ram Rajah, who retains the power of calling out their troops into the field when public ſervice is required. This chief can aſſemble an army of three hundred thouſand men upon any emergency. Was it not then abſolute madneſs in us to have quarrelled with ſuch a power, even if we dreaded no other foe at the time but itſelf?

Of all others the Marrattas are the moſt poliſhed people in India. They are generous and hoſpitable both towards ſtrangers and each other, even to a ſuperſtitious degree, theſe virtues forming a part of their religion from time immemorial. Plunder is their chief object when engaged in war; but they treat their priſoners with much greater humanity than might be expected from people of a predatory habit.

Some years prior to the preſent hoſtilities, the throne of Settetah was uſurped by *Nana Row* brother to *Ragonaut Row*, or the famous *Ragoba*, who confined the real Ram Rajah in a neighbouring fortreſs, and adminiſtered government to the Marrattas as his *Paiſhwa* or prime miniſter.

When Nana Row died he left two ſons, *Mada Row* and *Narain Row*; the firſt and eldeſt of whom inherited the ſtation of prime miniſter, which occaſioned great jealouſy in the breaſt of his uncle Ragoba, who thought himſelf beſt entitled to the ſucceſſion; upon the diſcovery of which, Mada Row, apprehending conſequences, ordered him into confinement.

As this Paiſhwa advanced in years, he began to foreſee the approaching diſſolution of his family through the crafty machinations of his intriguing uncle, even though immured in a priſon;

and, being a man of ſingular humanity and benevolence, embraced the generous reſolution of effecting a reconciliation betwixt Narain Row and him, both the objects of his tenderneſs, by cauſing his uncle to be releaſed; and, in a moſt pathetic ſpeech, committing his only brother to his care and protection; obſerving at the ſame time to Ragoba, that Narain never adviſed his confinement, but was always a ſtrenuous advocate for his releaſe; and that he hoped gratitude would now induce him to protect his nephew, who was as yet young and inexperienced in the world, from the ſnares and plots of his enemies; and alſo to adviſe him in the adminiſtration of government; all of which Ragoba courteouſly promiſed to fulfil. But this depraved and perfidious wretch diſplayed as much diſſimulation upon this occaſion as Mada Row did an honeſt and virtuous confidence.

In November 1772 the paiſhwa died, and poor Narain Row, who had juſt entered his twenty-third year, was cruelly cut off in a very few months afterwards. The heart of Ragoba was at all times callous to every impreſſion of tenderneſs and gratitude, particularly when his private intereſt was concerned; he therefore baſely determined to avail himſelf of the confidence that was placed in him; and, by one deliberate blow, ſecure the paiſhwaſhip without a competitor; as neither of his nephews at that time had any children born, although Narain's wife was known to be pregnant:

Accordingly he bribed three ſubedars of the paiſhwa's guard to aſſaſſinate Narain Row; which inhuman deed was perpetrated in Auguſt 1773, when he was actually in the very embraces of his perfidious uncle.

The death of Narain Row was ſo much lamented, and the perpetrator of it ſo much execrated, by all his ſubjects, that a powerful party was inſtantly formed to depoſe Ragoba; and, ſo ſucceſsful were their efforts, that they obliged the infamous regicide to fly from his country. The Company, however, purſuant to their uſual ſyſtem of policy, readily afforded him a ſafe aſylum in the iſland of Bombay, in conſideration of a few pecuniary donations to particular people, and a promiſe of the moſt flattering conceſſions to the Company, which he had neither the power nor the right to perform. The Marrattas remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt this unjuſt proceeding of the Bombay preſidency; but, in deſpite of all conſequences, they determined to protect Ragonaut Row: and it was in ſupport of this miſcreant that the Company firſt took up arms againſt theſe formidable ſtates.

Purſuant to reſolution, the Bombay troops ſoon commenced hoſtilities; and, with a good deal of loſs, reduced the iſlands of Salſette and Baroche; and were carrying on the war with vigour, when ſome circumſtances intervened that brought on a temporary reconciliation; and the following terms of peace were agreed upon and ratified in March 1776, entitled the *Treaty of Poonah.* It was ſtipulated in this negociation that the Marrattas ſhould cede Salſette, Baroche, and other diſtricts in the vicinity of Bombay, to the Company; and alſo that Ragoba ſhould be provided for by them according to his rank in a private ſtation, upon condition that he ſhould be immediately ordered to withdraw from Bombay; and that *ever* afterwards no protection or aſſiſtance ſhould be given to him or any other ſubject of the Marratta ſtates, who ſhould excite the leaſt diſturbance or rebellion in that country; all which the court of directors ordered to be ſtrictly adhered to, having regard however to the protection of Ragoba's perſon from violence. This laſt clauſe of intended humanity was in the end made a bad uſe of; for it gave room to Ragonaut Row to ſuppoſe that the Company had not as yet altogether forſaken him, more eſpecially as he was *ſtill* permitted to remain in Bombay, contrary to the terms of treaty. Theſe ideas urged him to commence new intrigues, and foment animoſities afreſh in the adminiſtration of Poonah. His artifices were at length carried ſo far as to cauſe one of his moſt important partizans (and I believe the only one there) to whiſper into the credulous ear of the Engliſh reſident at the court of Poonah, that a moſt powerful party was formed in favour of Ragoba, and only waited the ſanction and ſupport of the Company to overthrow all his opponents, and ſpeedily advance him to the ſupreme government.

This piece of intelligence, received with avidity, and at once credited by majorities in the preſidencies both of Bombay and Calcutta, gave a ſudden change to the face of affairs; for it was determined, without much heſitation, to eſpouſe the cauſe of this treacherous vagabond afreſh, in direct violation of the treaty which they had but a ſhort time before ſo ſolemnly ratified. This conduct, however, very ſoon reduced them to the moſt diſgraceful ſubmiſſions; notwithſtanding which the war was ſtill proſecuted, until the enraged and much-injured Marrattas at laſt found means to unite all their diſcordant chiefs: Hyder Ally Cawn, the Soubah of the Decan, the Rajah of Berar, Nadiff Cawn, and many of the leſſer powers, aſſiſted by the French and Dutch, entering into an awful confederacy with them againſt the Company.

In November 1778 an army of four thouſand men, attended by an uſeleſs number of followers, elephants, and an unneceſſary quantity of baggage, was aſſembled at Bombay, to conduct Ragoba a ſecond time to Poonah. It was, as uſual, placed entirely under the control of Meſſrs. Carnac and Moſtyn, civil field deputies, and Colonel Egerton as military commander; but the folly of truſting the operations of a campaign to a couple of *merchants* was ſo clearly evinced in the fate of this detachment, that the practice has ever ſince been aboliſhed by the Company.

This army proceeded to the paſs of *Kodichilly*, joined by Ragonaut Row with two battalions of ſepoys, and ſix hundred horſe, which he had raiſed. Here they remained a whole month, anxiouſly expecting to be joined by *Holkar* and others, who were conſidered as Ragoba's chief partizans; but, as might have been expected, no one appeared to ſupport his ſtandard.

In the mean time *Scindiah* contrived to unite all the Marratta chiefs in perfect harmony; and, placing himſelf at their head, held a conſultation upon forming the plan which ſhould ſeem the moſt eligible to be adopted in the preſent ſtate of affairs; when it was unanimouſly determined, that, 'if Ragonaut Row had come with 'his own forces alone, they ſhould have received him, and given 'him a ſhare of the power as formerly; but ſince he came with 'an army of Engliſh, who were of a different nation from them, 'and with whoſe conduct in Sujah Dowla's country, the Rohilla 'country, Bengal, and the Carnatic, they were well acquainted, 'they firmly reſolved not to receive Ragoba, as otherwiſe, in the 'end, they ſhould be obliged to forſake their religion, and become 'the ſlaves of Europeans.' Upon this they exchanged oaths; and Scindiah, with fifteen thouſand horſe and foot, advanced towards the Engliſh, followed by forty thouſand more under the conduct of *Nana Furneze*.

The Bombay troops now quitted the paſſes, and advanced eighty-five miles upon their intended route to a place called *Tulicanoon*, having been prodigiouſly haraſſed the whole way. Here the enemy collected all their force, and fairly ſurrounded the Engliſh camp, having alſo cut off all their ſupplies of proviſions, and reduced them to ſuch extremities, that the merchants, ſeeing this likely to prove a *loſing bargain*, determined to effect a retreat, for which meaſures were accordingly concerted. Ragoba, in the mean time, ſeeing himſelf in ſuch a dilemma, ſignified, in a private manner to the Marratta commander, that he would willingly join him with the troops under his command at whatever time he ſhould think proper to attack the Engliſh forces. This exhibits a freſh inſtance of the perfidy of Ragonaut Row, and the folly of placing any confidence in ſo deceitful a character. The Engliſh, however, appeared to have diſcovered this piece of treachery; for that night they ſecretly attempted to decamp from Tulicanoon, taking Ragoba with them, and leaving their tents ſtanding under the protection of two hundred Europeans and one battalion of ſepoys, with eight pieces of cannon, to lead the enemy to believe that their whole force was ſtill there. The Marrattas mean-while diſcovering this ſtratagem, with their whole numbers fell at once upon both diviſions of the Britiſh army with ſuch furious intrepidity, that it was with difficulty the detachment which had marched with Ragoba returned to the aſſiſtance of that left in the camp; and, although at laſt fortunately united, they were incapable of making any impreſſion upon the Marratta army, which now preſſed them cloſe on every hand. An inceſſant cannonade having been ſupported for forty-eight hours, which had killed and wounded no leſs than two hundred Europeans and one thouſand and two hundred ſepoys, the Engliſh army was at laſt forced to ſue for terms of capitulation. This the enemy readily aſſented to, and the firing was upon both ſides ordered to ceaſe, whilſt Mr. Farmer, one of the Company's ſervants, was admitted to a conference in the Marratta camp.

This civilian repreſented, in the moſt humiliating ſtrain to the Marratta chiefs, that they were only a company of poor unfortunate merchants, conſequently incapable of conducting armies with propriety, who had inconſiderately eſpouſed a bad cauſe. "We "are now," continued he, "ſenſible of our great error, and truſt "for mercy ſolely to your generoſity. It reſts with you to pro-"nounce our doom—Here is a *carte blanche*, write upon it what "terms you think fit, and we ſhall be ſatisfied—Can I ſay more?"

Scindiah now aroſe, and in his turn delivered a ſpeech that for moderation and good ſenſe would do honour to the moſt enlightened prince in Europe. He firſt addreſſed his countrymen to this effect—That although they had it in their power to make the moſt advantageous terms they pleaſed, yet it would not be adviſeable to do ſo at this particular period—" for" ſaid he, " our making " large demands would only ſow reſentment deeper in their " hearts; and it will benefit us nothing to exact more than is " neceſſary." Then, turning to Mr. Farmer, he added, " Let " Ragonaut Row be with us, and the treaty between us and the " Engliſh ſhall be ſtrictly adhered to; let Salſette and our poſſeſ- " ſions in Guzzarat be reſtored to us; let the Bengal army return " back; for the reſt, let each of us act as ſtipulated in the treaty " of Poonah in March 1776; and, laſtly, let all theſe articles be " written out upon the paper which you have given us:" which was accordingly done. It was alſo agreed to that two hoſtages, Mr. Farmer and Mr. Stewart, ſhould be ſent from the Engliſh camp to remain with the Marrattas until this treaty ſhould be completely fulfilled.

All theſe terms being ſettled and ſigned, the Bombay army capitulated at Wargam on the 16th of January 1779; and, after delivering Ragonaut Row into the hands of Scindiah, the whole were faithfully eſcorted by two thouſand horſe to their own territories. But the preſidency of Bombay were ſo enraged at the diſgraceful fate of their army, that they baſely refuſed to confirm this fair and honourable treaty.

At the ſame time that theſe troops had been aſſembled at Bombay, another army was voted by the preſidency of Calcutta, to enter the Marratta territories from Bengal, in order to make a diverſion, and co-operate with each other in the ſame purſuit. This body conſiſted of about one hundred officers and ſix thouſand effective men, commanded by Colonel Leſlie, who was ordered to penetrate fifteen hundred miles through unexplored countries, and to begin his depredations in the province of Malva, compoſing the chief part of Scindiah's own poſſeſſions. After he had proceeded, however, a conſiderable way on this expedition, in favour of Ragoba, a new thought ſtruck the governor-general of Bengal: which might tend more effectually to a procraſtination of the war, the object which ſeemed to be chiefly aimed at by thoſe in power; and this was—to prevail upon Moodajee Booſlah, the rajah of Berar, who was a Marratta by birth, and appeared to be the lineal deſcendant and heir of the ram rajahs (the laſt of whom, having died in confinement in 1777, without iſſue, left the crown vacant to the firſt that had courage to claim it as his right), to become a candidate for the throne of Setterah; in which he could not fail to ſucceed when ſupported by the Company, who now renounced the cauſe of Ragonaut Row, which, upon ſerious reflection, appeared to be too deſperate to admit of the ſmalleſt hope of ſucceſs. This new plan being accordingly reſolved upon in Bengal, although not known for ſome time afterwards in Bombay, Colonel Leſlie was ordered to change his route through the kingdom of Berar, and there negociate a new alliance, and ſound the inclinations of that prince, whilſt Mr. H—gs opened a familiar correſpondence with him upon the ſame ſubject, that abſolutely had more the air of a love courtſhip than a public negociation. But, notwithſtanding the endeavours of Colonel Leſlie, and the extraordinary advances of the governor-general, the rajah, alas! proved cruelly coy. You now ſee, by the moſt unaccountable and contradictory conduct, one army marching from Bombay to place Ragoba upon the throne of Poonah, whilſt another moves from Bengal to raiſe to the ſame exalted ſtation Moodajee Booſlah, rajah of Berar.

Whilſt this negociation was going on, Colonel Leſlie's army amuſed themſelves with picking up a little plunder in the country of Diamonds, where the colonel died in October 1778, and was ſucceeded by Colonel Goddard, who alſo endeavoured to bring the rajah of Berar into this new ſcheme, and was empowered to conclude a treaty with him; but that venerable prince abſolutely refuſed to diſgrace his reputation by ſuch an alliance, and ſecretly ſpurned at this inſtance of our depravity; alleging, as an apology for his conduct, that he was then in cloſe alliance with the Marrattas; and that however ſlightly the Engliſh might adhere to treaties and ſolemn engagements he conſidered them as ſacred ties which ought never to be broken without a good and ſubſtantial reaſon; and, as a proof of his friendſhip for both parties, he offered his earneſt ſervices as a mediator between his diſtreſſed countrymen and the Engliſh, for the purpoſe of accompliſhing a peace. This was however contrary to the views of the council, who had by this time been informed of the convention at Wargam, and were determined not to ſheath the ſword, let the conſequences be ever ſo fatal, until they had wiped off the diſgrace occaſioned by that unfortunate diſaſter. Accordingly, whilſt the Marratta army was encamped at Wargam, lulled into ſecurity by the treaty juſt ſigned by Mr. Carnac, Colonel Goddard reſolved to avail himſelf of that opportunity to viſit the Malabar coaſt with his army, in order, as was reported, to ſubvert the views of France in that quarter, but in reality to recommence hoſtilities, in league with the Bombay troops, upon the unfortunate Marrattas. Colonel Goddard, therefore, ſetting out from Barampore, made a ſweep to the northward, and arrived ſafe at Surat in February 1779.

Here again ſome circumſtances occurred that for a moment diſpoſed the Engliſh to think of peace: and Colonel Goddard (who was now inveſted with the rank of general) was ordered to propoſe terms upon a new footing; but, whilſt a vakeel was upon the road from Poonah for effecting this negociation, Ragonaut Row, by ſome ſtratagem, found means to eſcape from his keepers; and, flying to Surat, arrived there before the Marratta ambaſſador. General

Goddard, very unaccountably, preferred giving this extraordinary adventurer protection, a third time, to a reconciliation with the Marratta ſtates; which juſtly exaſperated them ſo much, that it was a long time afterwards before they could in any degree credit the tottering integrity of the Engliſh.

It being again determined to proſecute the war in favour of this exile, General Goddard fixed upon another unfortunate prince, whoſe kingdom was in the vicinity of Bombay, to be an additional tool in his future operations. This was *Futty Sing Row*, rajah of a diſtrict in Guzzarat, tributary to the Marratta government, who was intimidated by a march of the Engliſh army towards his capital, into an alliance with the Company, upon ſuch terms as they thought proper to dictate. Theſe were—to relinquiſh his preſent valuable poſſeſſions contiguous to their ſettlements at Bombay, for other territories of leſs certainty and note which they might hereafter jointly conquer from the Marrattas.

Thus the allies commenced afreſh their depredations upon the enemy's frontiers; and, after having ſtormed Ammedabad, the general advanced to offer battle to forty thouſand horſe and foot, who were upon their march to relieve that garriſon, under the two great chiefs Scindiah and Holkar. When both armies drew near to each other, the Marrattas, deſpiſing to vent their wrath upon individuals, nobly ſet Meſſrs. Farmer and Stewart, the two gentlemen who had been left with them as hoſtages for the due performance of the treaty of Wargam, at liberty, although their lives had certainly been forfeited by all the rules of war; deſiring again that the Engliſh would conſider more ſeriouſly of their conduct, and fulfil that treaty. General Goddard, however, proved inflexible; and this extraordinary act of generoſity, that ought to have made the Engliſh bluſh for their faithleſs proceedings, was paſſed over unnoticed.

The allies now endeavoured to bring on a general engagement, and the Marrattas as artfully avoided it, contenting themſelves with haraſſing the Britiſh as much as poſſible, and cutting off their ſupplies. General Goddard, however, with a detachment of about two thouſand horſe and foot, and twelve guns, in April 1780, fairly ſurpriſed the enemy's camp in the night-time, without ſuffering any important loſs, although the Marrattas were very ſeverely handled. Many gallant exploits of this nature were performed by the Britiſh army during this campaign, in which Major Forbes, Capt. Campbell, and Lieutenant Welch, particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves; and whoſe gallantry certainly merited a better cauſe. But it would be encroaching too much upon your patience to continue a tedious detail of ſuch unwarrantable tranſactions. It was not, however, until the following year, 1781, when a ſecond army from

Bengal was ſent to make another diverſion in the province of Malva, which drew Scindiah thither with ſixty thouſand horſe for its defence, when troubles of a moſt awful nature from Europe, and other dangerous quarters, threatened the Company, that a final end was put to thoſe diſgraceful wars. Lieutenant-Colonel Carnac commanded this laſt detachment that marched from Bengal to Malva, who, in a nocturnal excurſion, completely ſurpriſed the whole of Scindiah's camp and took poſſeſſion of all the Marratta artillery; which was followed by a permanent treaty of peace, that was at laſt *really* concluded and ratified by both parties in May 1782.

LETTER XI.

Pondamalee, July 1780.

MANY have compared the military genius and character of Hyder Ally to thoſe of the renowned Frederick the Second, king of Pruſſia; and indeed, when we conſider the diſtinguiſhed abilities of that prince amongſt his cotemporaries in this country, and the intrepid manner by which he has eſtabliſhed himſelf upon the throne of Miſore, and extended his dominions, one cannot but allow the ſimile to be exceedingly juſt.

Hyder Ally firſt placed himſelf at the head of the Miſore army entirely by his military prowefs. A great part of that kingdom borders upon the Marratta ſtates, which occaſions a conſtant enmity betwixt theſe two powers. The Marrattas, being in former times the moſt powerful warriors, were always making unlawful encroachments upon the Miſore territories; but when Hyder Ally came to head the troops of that nation againſt its enemies he ſoon convinced the Marrattas that his countrymen only wanted a proper leader to make ample retaliation; for, by his prudence and conduct in the art of war, he not only drove them back to their own country, but conſiderably extended the Miſore kingdom by acquiſitions from the Marratta frontiers, which all the efforts of the latter have been ineffectual to retrieve. By theſe exploits he ingratiated himſelf much into the favour of his countrymen; and was particularly admired and reſpected by the ſoldiers under his command, for his ſingular addreſs and intrepidity, although he was at the ſame time reckoned auſtere and arbitrary in his deportment. Hyder ſoon afterwards availed himſelf of this attachment in the uſual Aſiatic manner; for, upon the demiſe of his ſovereign, the old king of Miſore, he immediately uſurped the throne under the title of regent and guardian to the young prince (who was then an infant); and has ever ſince aſſumed the ſupreme authority and titles of Nabob of Miſore, keeping the real heir confined within the walls of Seringapatnam*, who is occaſionally exhibited to the public by way of ſhew or form, as Mahomed Ally, the nabob of Arcot, is at Madras by the Company, who, excepting empty titles, has in like manner been diveſted of every prerogative in the Carnatic.

Hyder now became a terror to all his neighbours; for, having united the talents of a profound politician to thoſe of an able warrior, he ſhewed uncommon abilities in forming ſuch judicious eſtabliſhments, both civil and military, in his dominions, as in courſe of time rendered him the moſt formidable and potent prince in Hither Hindoſtan.

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* The capital of the Miſore country.

As all great acquiſitions in this country are made by force of arms, the firſt object with Hyder Ally was to eſtabliſh a good army; and experience taught him, in the courſe of his frequent conflicts with the Engliſh, that European diſcipline was abſolutely eſſential to that end. He therefore endeavoured, by every poſſible means, to allure to his ſtandard military adventurers of all nations and tribes, but particularly the European artificers and ſepoys that had been trained up in the Company's ſervice, to whom he held out the moſt tempting rewards; nor did he ever want emiſſaries for this purpoſe in every battalion in the Company's ſervice, as appears from the words of command, which are now given in Engliſh throughout his whole army.

By this means he ſoon brought his eſtabliſhed forces to a perfection in European diſcipline never before known amongſt the black powers in India; and his progreſs in tactics has been matter of aſtoniſhment and terror to all thoſe who have ventured to encounter him in the field. But what at once ſhew the extended ideas and ambition of this prince, are his ſurpriſing endeavours to become formidable at ſea. No art has been left untried to entice into his pay, our ſhip-carpenters and dockyard-men from Bombay and other places; and in this attempt the French and other European powers have been induced to aſſiſt him; ſo that the progreſs which he has already made in conſtructing docks and equipping a naval force is almoſt incredible.

The ſurpriſing energy of this man's uncultivated mind, (for he is totally ignorant of letters,) when compared to the reſt of his cotemporaries in power, is truly worthy of admiration. Who, but an hero born to conquer, would at once relinquiſh all the prejudices and ill-founded habits of his country, ſo foreign to ours, and ſo readily adopt whatever European improvements appeared moſt eſſential to ſecure his government, to extend his empire, and to render his name immortal? He is not only ſublime in his views, but capable of ſeeing them minutely executed. His ends are always great, his means prudent, and his generoſity unbounded, whenever proper objects offer: nor can any prince be more watchful over the intrigues of his enemies both abroad and at home; by which means he knows well where to anticipate hoſtile deſigns, and where to take advantages.

It is not then to be wondered at, if a prince poſſeſſed of ſo many great qualities, and ſo ambitious of fame and high honours as Hyder Ally Cawn, ſhould behold his powerful neighbours the

Engliſh, and their ally the nabob of Arcot, with an eye of jealouſy and hatred. It can only be from political motives if ever he is at any time induced to ſhew them a fair face: for I have been told from good authority that he ſecretly entertains an implacable averſion to all Europeans, which he takes as much care to inſtil into the mind of his ſon Tippo, as Hamilcar, the famous Carthaginian general, did when he cauſed Hannibal to take the oaths of perpetual enmity againſt the Romans. Needed we then have doubted that he would openly declare thoſe ſentiments whenever an opportunity offered?—No; his reaſons were too well founded ever to admit of a deviation from them: nor can he be blamed for breathing a ſpirit of patriotiſm, which is natural to every native of Hindoſtan, and originally inſpired by European tyranny.

From what has already been ſaid, we may readily conclude that Hyder Ally took an active part in forming the grand confederacy againſt the Company; and nothing confirms it more than his artful conduct towards them, ever ſince it was firſt in agitation. He has oftener than once, as well as the Marrattas, experienced Engliſh treachery and infidelity, which determined him, in league with the other members of this famous compact, to renounce all future connexion with our nation. But, although, this aſſociation had been firſt projected as far back as the year 1778, Hyder thought it prudent to ſuſpend the execution of his deſigns upon the Carratic, until a binding treaty ſhould be ratified and ſigned by all the confederate members, that each might perform his part in concert with the reſt; for he had reaſon to ſuſpect that ſome of them, from private motives, did not act with quite ſo much candour and zeal in the general cauſe as he himſelf did.

Meanwhile he uſed every endeavour, and ſacrificed many private advantages, to keep his countrymen united in the ſame ſentiments. No longer an implacable enemy to the Marrattas, he courteouſly ſolicited their friendſhip and alliance; and ſent circular letters, couched in the ſtrongeſt terms, to thoſe whom he thought moſt hoſtile to our intereſts; exhorting them at once to form a league (in which he engaged to lead the van) and fall unanimouſly upon all the Engliſh ſettlements from the Ganges to Cape Comorin. He repreſented to them that, by this conduct, they ſhould not only be the means of emancipating themſelves and their unhappy countrymen from an humiliating ſtate of tyranny and oppreſſion, but have their names commemorated by all future ages as the glorious deliverers of their country.

Much about this period the ſiniſter tranſactions of the French to alienate the Americans from their mother country, and alſo to ſap our intereſt in the Eaſt-Indies, were clearly diſcovered; conſequently Great-Britain was now forced to break the peace with

France, in order to ſubvert her perfidious deſigns. That nation, therefore, judged the preſent criſis a favourable opportunity of ſecuring ſome friends in India, who might aſſiſt them to protect their ſettlements in that country from the ſuperior force of the Engliſh. Accordingly one Monſ. St. Lubin was diſpatched upon an embaſſy to Hyder Ally, with an offer of the French alliance to co-operate with him and his friends againſt the Engliſh, which Hyder readily accepted of; and, until the war openly commenced betwixt England and France, which did not happen for ſome time after this, M. St. Lubin diligently employed himſelf in carrying out military ſtores of all kinds to Hyder Ally in a clandeſtine manner.

When the Britiſh parliament and Eaſt-India Company were thoroughly convinced of the hoſtile intentions of France, they boldly determined to ſtrike the firſt blow in the Eaſt; and to reduce all the valuable ſettlements of that aſpiring monarchy upon the Indian ſhores, with the utmoſt expedition. Government therefore reſolved, as the Marratta war had already employed ſo many of the Company's troops, to ſend out, by the firſt ſhips, the ſeventy-third regiment, conſiſting of one thouſand Highlanders, commanded by Lord Macleod, and a ſquadron of ſix ſail of the line under Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hughes; in order to aſſiſt in the reduction of Pondicherry, and for other ſervices in India.

It happened, however, that intelligence of this reſolution had no ſooner been tranſmitted over land to India, than the preſidency of Madras found means to collect force enough themſelves for that purpoſe, before the ſeventy-third could arrive; with which Major-general Sir Hector Munro quickly laid ſiege to Pondicherry; and, notwithſtanding every effort of M. Bellecombe and his officers, the garriſon was forced to capitulate in leſs than ſix weeks afterwards; and, according to orders, the ramparts of that extenſive and beautiful city were completely levelled with the ground. The garriſon of Chandernagore, in Bengal, was at the ſame time reduced; and a detachment marched from Madras, acroſs part of the Miſore country, to the attack of Mahee, upon the Malabar coaſt, which was likewiſe demoliſhed. And, as at this time the three ſettlements ſtrained every nerve to make General Goddard's army (then employed againſt the Marrattas) as formidable as poſſible, the principal part of that force was afterwards ſent by the council of Madras to the Malabar coaſt, leaving the Carnatic in a ſtate entirely defenceleſs, without any troops to guard the many uſeleſs forts that encumber it, excepting the nabob's paltry ſepoys, and their avaricious commanders, whoſe duplicity ſoon afterwards proved fatal to the Company.

Hyder, it may be eaſily imagined, was not a little mortified at this fatal blow to his European allies, which ſtruck ſuch a panic into the puſillanimous minds of his other accomplices, and had affected their different intereſts ſo much, that all hopes of ſucceſs in his magnanimous enterpriſe were for the preſent totally overthrown, none but the Marrattas now venturing to join him. But the aſpiring genius of that prince was ſuch, that misfortunes of the greateſt moment, inſtead of depreſſing his ſpirits, tended only to increaſe the extravagance of his unruly deſires; ſo that at all events (and perhaps through the entreaties of France) he was fully determined not to relinquiſh his hoſtile intentions againſt the Carnatic.

The march of our troops acroſs part of his country to the ſiege of Mahee, which he conſidered under his protection, together with ſome other infringements upon an expedition through *Combitor*, in the northern part of his dominions, contrary to the terms of treaty in 1769, and other infractions of a more recent date, were conſidered by Hyder as a ſufficient pretence for breaking the peace. From this time he never made a ſecret of his determined reſolution to invade the Company's territories upon the firſt favourable opportunity; and endeavoured, by lively repreſentations of the pride and perfidy of the Engliſh, to inſpire all his followers with the ſame ſentiments of reſentment and averſion towards them which naturally fired his own boſom.

An ambaſſador was upon this rumour diſpatched to penetrate into Hyder Ally's deſigns; which appeared ſo ſtrongly coloured by revenge, that it was eaſy to predict the conſequent event; and of this Mr. Gray faithfully forewarned the governor of Madras, who choſe however to keep it an entire ſecret from the reſt of the council.

Such was the perilous ſituation of the Eaſt India Company's affairs about the time that I arrived upon the coaſt of Coromandel. Serious menaces, like thoſe above narrated, were inſufficient to excite the leaſt concern or precaution in the council of Madras. It was cuſtomary there to treat all reports of the kind with contempt and diſbelief: and ſo much were the inhabitants lulled into a fatal ſecurity and confidence from the ignorance in which they were kept by the governor, that whoever ventured to ſpeak of the intended invaſion with more confidence than the reſt was ridiculed for his puſilanimity in giving credit to ſuch extravagant notions. But Hyder Ally ſoon convinced the moſt incredulous that his threats were not vain; that he was a warrior to be dreaded, and not deſpiſed, as they had inconſiderately imagined

All the ſubtle inventions of an Aſiatic were now employed by this prince to facilitate his entry into the Carnatic. His liberality in the diſtribution of rewards and bribes could hardly fail of enſuring him ſucceſs. Theſe were diffuſed all over the Carnatic in great profuſion; and, I am ſorry to obſerve, it was too much believed that ſuch glittering temptations were not to be reſiſted even by thoſe of our own countrymen who held the reins of government. This was indeed the ſure and effectual method of accompliſhing his end; for, ſhould his arms at any time prove unſucceſsful, he could, by means of an adequate *douceur*, purchaſe peace upon his own terms, even at the gates of Seringapatnam. He was likewiſe fortunate, much about this period, in acquiring an advantage which we ſeverely felt during the whole of the ſubſequent war. No leſs than four well diſciplined regiments of the nabob's cavalry mutinied in the Tanjore country. Theſe firſt confined their European officers; and even threatened them with death if they did not immediately pay up all their demands of great arrears juſtly due to them by their ſovereign, the nabob of Arcot. But finding that ſcheme ineffectual, their officers being in the ſame predicament with themſelves, the whole with one voice abandoned our ſervice, and went over in a body to Hyder Ally, who did not fail to receive them with open arms, and afford them every encouragement.

All things now ſeemed propitious to his deſign. The French promiſed him every aſſiſtance in their power both by ſea and land. The black commandants of the nabob's ſepoys in the Carnatic garriſons aſſured him of meeting with no reſiſtance from them: and G——r R——d acted the traitor's part ſo well that a better finiſhing ſtroke could not be given to the general plan. He kept the council in conſtant ſuſpenſe, giving them the moſt flattering hopes of a ſpeedy reconciliation, until all was ripe for a change. His departure for Europe was at length the ſignal for Hyder to throw off the maſk of tranquillity. Care was taken, however, before the traitor made his exit, to ſow the ſeeds of diſſenſion ſo thick in the council, that nothing could be unanimouſly determined upon; and they placed ſuch confidence in his fallacious aſſertions that no intelligence whatever would be believed.

Things being thus arranged, Hyder Ally determined, without farther heſitation, to aſſemble his whole force; which, from the beſt accounts, conſiſted of ſixty thouſand horſe and fifty thouſand foot, regulars and irregulars, and a hundred pieces of ordnance. Of the horſe two troops were French under Monſieur Pimoran, and of foot five hundred European renegadoes under Monſ. Lally, two experienced French officers.

Thoſe troops appear differently armed. The horſemen are chiefly clothed in thick quilted cotton gowns, ſufficient to repel a blow from any ſword. They carry large and heavy ſabres, that are almoſt ſemicircular, and kept as ſharp as a razor: the moſt regular of them alſo uſe piſtols; but the *lootywallas*, or huſſars, ſling an old ruſty matchlock, in the ſtyle of a carbine; and ſometimes carry a ſharp-pointed ſpear, about ſix feet long, which they throw with great dexterity. Others again of thoſe irregulars uſe a bow and a quiver of ſtrong arrows.

His regular infantry really cut a good appearance, being clothed in red and green, with different coloured facings, and armed with French, and many Engliſh muſquets and bayonets of a good kind. The *matchlock-men*, who are uſed in the manner of light-infantry, and guards for baggage or convoys, carry a long-barrelled gun, not wider in the bore than a ſmall piſtol, with a trigger which conducts the match by the ſlighteſt touch into the pan, which is covered by a ſlider, excepting when in uſe. With theſe they ſneak behind buſhes and old walls, and kill at a great diſtance, being excellent markſmen.

The matchlock-men are generally accompanied by *poligars*, a ſet of fellows that are almoſt ſavage, and make uſe of no other weapon than a pointed bamboo ſpear, eighteen or twenty feet long. When the poligars are attacked by horſe they form themſelves into a cloſe ring, placing the matchlock-men in the centre, and pointing their pikes at the enemy. In this order they all ſit down, and fix the nether end of the pike into a hole in the ground betwixt their legs, whilſt the matchlock-men keep up an irregular fire over their heads; and in this manner they will reſiſt the moſt violent charges of cavalry, and ſometimes of infantry.

Hyder Ally alſo employs ſome thouſands of men for throwing *rockets*. This is a miſſive weapon, and made in the ſame form as thoſe uſed by ſchoolboys, with this difference, that the ſtalk is a thick bamboo, eight or ten feet long, which has a tube of iron, from ſix to twelve pounds weight, fixed to the end of it, in which the fuſe and powder are placed. In wet weather, or marſhy grounds, theſe are ſet-off flying in the air, and will reach to the diſtance of a mile and a half; but upon dry grounds they are pointed horizontally, and bound in a very uncertain direction, often creating great damage, particularly amongſt cavalry and ammunition tumbrils.

Hyder's train of artillery is chiefly compoſed of French and Daniſh guns of different calibers, but moſt commonly heavy metal, which are doubly yoked with trained bullocks; and are as well and expeditiouſly ſerved as ours.

Before I proceed farther, it will be neceſſary to make you acquainted with the nature and form of the mountains and paſſes which ſeparate the kingdom of Miſore from the Carnatic. Theſe do not riſe gradually upon each ſide, as they recede from the level of the ocean, like other hills, becauſe the Miſore country is at leaſt two thouſand feet higher than the Carnatic; conſequently they reſemble a flight of ſteps, by which a perſon aſcends to Miſore, exactly as one might mount from the ground floor of a houſe to the firſt ſtory or terrace. Were it not that theſe are, at particular places, indented by rapid rivers and other natural excavations, they would have been an inſurmountable barrier to the Miſorians: but theſe openings, called the ghauts, or paſſes of communication betwixt the two countries, ſeem formed by nature for the irruption of thoſe barbarians.

When Hyder Ally had marched the immenſe army above deſcribed to the verge of theſe mountains, oppoſite to *Shangama* paſs, which leads into the Carnatic by *Trinomaly*, he called a grand council of war to know the general ſentiments of his officers upon this important undertaking. Here his ſon and heir, *Tippo Sabib*, (a prince poſſeſſed of all his father's military genius, with no leſs abilities; and who is always deemed a formidable ſecond to Hyder in every enterpriſe), harangued the aſſembly in a very heroic ſtrain; and, like Hannibal in his ſpeech to his army upon the ſummit of the Alps, pointed down towards the fertile plains of the Carnatic as an ample reward for their reſolution and their toils. This being a ſufficient teſtimony of his wiſhes, the hoſtile ſword was drawn upon the 20th of July 1780; and theſe barbarians ruſhed like an impetuous torrent through the ghauts, diſperſing themſelves all over the Carnatic, like herds of furious animals in queſt of their prey, and committing every act of cruelty and devaſtation that it was poſſible for ſavage minds to ſuggeſt.

The forts of Trinomaly, Chitaputt, Arnè, Gingee, Chillumbrum, Caverepauk, and Carrangooly, &c. were all given up according to agreement; ſo that in leſs than fourteen days he poſſeſſed a chain of our frontier garriſons that completely ſecured the ſafety of all his convoys from the Miſore country; and, before the council of Fort St. George could be perſuaded that he had at all entered the Carnatic, his horſe, with aſtoniſhing rapidity, penetrated the length of Choultry plain and the environs of Madras; ſurrounding many of the Engliſh gentlemen in their country houſes, who narrowly eſcaped being taken; whilſt he himſelf commenced the ſiege of Arcot. Ocular demonſtration at laſt convinced the chiefs of this Preſidency of Hyder Ally's diſſimulation towards them, and of the late g——r's treacherous connivance.

The flying parties of the enemy's horſe did us alſo the honour of a viſit at Pondamalee *en paſſant* upon their route to Madras. Their firſt approach was announced about ſeven o'clock in the morning, by ſeeing all the villages blazing on every quarter within view of this garriſon, and as many of the inhabitants as could eſcape with their lives flying towards us in immenſe droves from all parts of the country, whoſe cries and lamentations were diſtinctly heard a full mile off, being cloſely purſued by thoſe inhuman barbarians, who brandiſhed their bloody ſwords in triumph as they galloped along. This firſt ſcene, upon a nearer approach, preſented to us all the horrors of war in their moſt diſtreſſing colours. Aged parents borne, like Anchiſes from the flames of Troy, upon the bleeding ſhoulders of their offspring, who were wantonly mutilated; mothers bewailing the loſs of their helpleſs infants that had fallen a ſacrifice to the fury of the enemy on the firſt ſurpriſe; and innocent virgins clinging for protection to the arms of their lacerated brothers. This was indeed a melancholy ſpectacle, which made the deepeſt impreſſion upon our ſympathiſing minds, as yet unaccuſtomed to ſuch ſcenes of brutality and horror; but which a poor ſoldier muſt not only learn to behold, but participate in, with calmneſs and indifference. Such was the extreme terror of thoſe inoffenſive and unhappy people, that they never once ſlackened their pace until they found themſelves immerſed in the ditch of Pondamalee.

Major Elphinſton, who commanded at this place, inſtantly detached a party from our corps, with a ſix-pounder, to protect the country people, and reconnoitre the enemy's force, which made them ſoon quit their purſuit and proceed to Madras; whither the major alſo diſpatched a courier with this alarming intelligence. The villages were all found reduced to aſhes, and the ſtreets ſtrewed with ſlaughtered infants and decrepit old people, who had been unable to make their eſcape. Another party was alſo ſent out in the night, with an intention to beat up the enemy's quarters; but they were not to be found.

CAMPAIGN OF 1780.

LETTER XII.

Choultry Plain, December 1780.

THIS rapid ſurpriſe at laſt rouſed the preſidency of Madras from their unaccountable lethargy; and, as ſoon as they could be thoroughly convinced that it really was not a dream, they began to aſſemble all their ſcattered forces, in order to make the beſt defence that ſuch a ſituation would admit of againſt this formidable invaſion.

The garriſon of Pondamalee being deemed the moſt centrical place for that purpoſe, a camp was ordered to be formed there under the command of Lord Macleod, who, it was at firſt intended, ſhould lead the troops into the field. Accordingly, upon the firſt of Auguſt, about eight hundred ſepoys and four hundred European infantry and artillery, with twenty pieces of ordnance, were marched thither from Madras and St. Thomas's Mount * to join his Majeſty's ſeventy-third regiment, which had at that time eight hundred effectives fit for immediate ſervice.

Theſe corps, after ſome days ſtay at Pondamalee, were ordered to the Mount, there to remain until they ſhould be joined by a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie, conſiſting of two hundred European infantry, two companies of artillery, five battalions of ſepoys, with ten field pieces, from a place called *Gomeraponda*, in the *Guntoor Circars*; and until Colonel Brathwate, with another diviſion of two hundred European foot, an hundred European artillery, with ten guns, four battalions of ſepoys, and one regiment of the nabob's black cavalry, ſhould arrive from Pondicherry.

But ſuch was the diſperſed ſtate of the troops at this unfortunate period, that, though thirty thouſand ſepoys are generally kept upon the Madras eſtabliſhment, it ſeemed merely impoſſible to aſſemble many more than four thouſand men in leſs time than a month; and even that number with the utmoſt difficulty, merely from the want of neceſſary precautions in the government: for here the military commander is ſo circumſcribed in his power that he can only put in execution the will of a majority in council, wherein he has but one vote and the governor two. The moſt trivial operation cannot be performed without being firſt deſcanted upon in council, who aſſume to themſelves all the merit of ſucceſs, but who are ready enough to lay the blame of a miſcarriage upon the head of a general, who has only been the inſtrument of carrying their reſolutions into effect.

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* A poſt within nine miles of Madras.

Diſputes now aroſe betwixt the council and Lord Macleod reſpecting what number of troops would be neceſſary to oppoſe the enemy. The former, from their ignorance of military affairs, treated the matter very lightly, and ſeemed to conceive one or two battalions of ſepoys quite ſufficient to repel the whole of Hyder Ally's army; but Lord Macleod, ſeconded by Sir Hector Munro, repreſented that matters had been allowed to proceed too far to trifle now with an handful of men; and they both gave it as their opinion—that a formidable army was abſolutely neceſſary effectually to rid the country of ſuch ſerious calamities. Firm in this ſentiment, Lord Macleod determined either to reſign the command or that all detachments ſhould be ordered to aſſemble at St. Thomas's Mount, before a march was commenced towards the enemy. The impatience of council, however, would not liſten to a plan which ſeemed to them ſo dilatory; and his lordſhip was deemed an inactive man, becauſe he would not raſhly expoſe himſelf, his reputation, and his little army, to deſtruction at their inconſiderate requeſt.

Colonel Brathwate's detachment had nearly ſeventy miles to march, and Colonel Baillie's upwards of two hundred; conſequently it would take ſome time before they could make their appearance. In about ten days the firſt of theſe joined, without meeting with any oppoſition from the enemy; and intelligence was daily received of the other's approach. But every moment now ſhewed more and more the urgent neceſſity there was for the army to get in motion, as Hyder was gaining conſiderable ground againſt Arcot, and matters already began to aſſume a very gloomy appearance.

The nabob likewiſe became concerned for his capital; particularly as it is an eſtabliſhed maxim with the Indians—that whoever poſſeſſes the metropolis is always conſidered as the ſupreme governor of the country. He was therefore urgent to have it relieved with what troops were then collected, and propoſed that the reſt ſhould form a junction at *Congeveram*. This advice, though given by one whom the council had long been accuſtomed to conſider with contempt, and which would probably have been ſlighted by them in a leſs deſperate ſituation, they eagerly adopted and determined to purſue. Any ſcheme indeed that tended to ſet the troops ſpeedily in motion and appeaſe their own terror appeared to them a feaſible plan of operations; for by this time they were ſeized with all that indeciſion, apprehenſion, and diſmay, that might naturally be expected to affect people ſo completely ſurpriſed. Lord Macleod was therefore urged to adopt theſe meaſures; but he was too much of an experienced veteran to liſten to a ſcheme founded in folly and teeming with miſchance; and made no ſcruple of divulging his mind freely in a public letter to the board for not being better prepared for ſuch an event; and not having even that detachment, which they then wiſhed ſo much to march, properly equipped for the expedition.

Advice at this time was deemed an inſult to judgment; and oppoſition to all his lordſhip's meaſures was thenceforward reſolved upon; which induced Major-General Sir Hector Munro, from a laudable deſire to end all animoſities at ſo critical a period, and forward the ſervice of his country, to put himſelf at the head of the army, and acquieſce in marching at all hazards with the troops then at St. Thomas's Mount to Congeveram, about ſixty miles weſt of Madras, where Colonel Baillie was ordered to join him as ſoon as poſſible with the detachment under his command.

Upon the 26th of Auguſt, Sir Hector Munro, accompanied by Lord Macleod, Colonels Brathwate, Fletcher, Harper, and other field-officers, began his march. His army, very poorly ſupplied with proviſions and other neceſſaries for the field, conſiſted of nearly one thouſand European infantry, three hundred artillery, with thirty field pieces and howitzers, and four battering guns (twenty-four pounders)), three thouſand two hundred and fifty ſepoys, thirty European dragoons, and about the ſame number of black commiſſioned and non-commiſſioned officers belonging to the regiment of black cavalry, which had arrived from Pondicherry with Colonel Brathwate. The reſt of that corps refuſed to march until they were paid up fourteen months arrears due to them by the nabob, which the council very *generouſly* offered to them in *paper*; but this they declared it was impoſſible for themſelves or their families to ſubſiſt upon, and therefore demanded *caſh*; which being refuſed, they conſequently would not move; and, by this unjuſt and parſimonious conduct of the council, the ſervices of this well-diſciplined corps were loſt to the army at a time when they could ſo ill be diſpenſed with.

In the courſe of this expedition we found Hyder Ally not the only enemy with whom we had to contend. When once launched into the field, the ſun, whom Hyder might well conſider as a powerful auxiliary, proved more formidable to us than whole legions of foes. Upon the firſt day's march the ſeventy-third regiment, from being unaccuſtomed to fatigue in ſuch ſultry weather, felt the fatal influence of that great luminary in a melancholy degree, no leſs than two hundred of the beſt men in the corps dropping down upon the road, quite exhauſted and overpowered by his vertical and ſcorching rays. Their indiſpoſition was much increaſed by drinking great quantities of ſtagnant water, for none elſe was to be found, which is a dangerous, although grateful, refreſhment during the heat of perſpiration. This unfortunately proved fatal to many of our braveſt ſoldiers, who nobly regretted, in their laſt moments, that their lives ſhould thus untimely vaniſh, as the hour approached in which their ſervices might have contributed both to the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe and to the honour of their country. It muſt alſo have been a mortifying and affecting ſight to General Munro to behold his beſt men (for the ſufferers were generally of the flower of the army) thus ſnatched from him at a time when the fall of every individual was perceptibly marked by a chaſm in his ranks. Notwithſtanding theſe unavoidable misfortunes, this little army, conſiſting at its outſet of no more than four thouſand ſix hundred and ten fighting men, with thirty field-pieces, had not only to encounter with ſixty thouſand horſe, fifty thouſand foot, and one hundred guns, upon equal ground, but alſo to protect at leaſt twenty thouſand followers, with the baggage and proviſions that accompanied them. Such were the unequal terms upon which this little army firſt ſallied into the field.

After we had in this manner ſuſtained a march from ſunriſing to ſunſet of four dreadful days (for it was impoſſible to move in the night from the confuſion that our immenſe train of baggage and followers would neceſſarily occaſion) the general encamped, upon the 29th of Auguſt, on the weſt ſide of Congeveram, which elegant city, having been deſolated by the barbarians, we beheld in flames as we paſſed through it.

Upon receiving intelligence of our motions, Hyder Ally, for the preſent, raiſed the ſiege of Arcot; and, collecting his whole force, advanced towards us with aſtoniſhing alacrity, having pitched his camp within a few miles of the Britiſh army, and diſpoſed of his advanced parties ſo as to prevent us from foraging.

The country round Congeveram being extremely flat and woody, it was impoſſible to reconnoitre cloſely without cavalry; we therefore had no other means of obſerving the force and movements of the enemy than from the top of an high pagoda in this city, in which a teleſcope was fixed entirely under the eye of Major Kelly, a vigilant officer, who engaged to communicate, by ſignals from this ſteeple, every motion of the Miſore army with the greateſt exactneſs. This indeed was an excellent expedient, when we conſider the impoſſibility of obtaining the ſmalleſt intelligence through the numerous circles of horſe that conſtantly ſurrounded our camp. Through this inſtrument we were, for the firſt time, favoured by Major Kelly with a complete view of the Miſore army, which undoubtedly made a moſt magnificent, though at the ſame time an awful, appearance. It was computed to cover a ſpace of ſeven miles

MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

in length and three in breadth; having an advanced poſt cloſe to us, which appeared equal in magnitude to our whole camp. An impartial ſpectator, in beholding the diſparity of numbers between theſe two armies from ſuch an exalted ſtation, could not but admire the fortitude and intrepidity diſplayed by the Britiſh forces upon this trying occaſion.

As the ſiege of Arcot was now raiſed, it appeared our beſt policy to act upon the defenſive until the intended junction with Colonel Baillie could be formed. Five days had already elapſed waiting his approach, during which time the enemy's horſe inceſſantly hovered round the camp, cutting off every kind of intelligence from us; and became ſo very troubleſome to our foraging parties, that a few nocturnal detachments were made in order to ſurpriſe them, which their vigilance rendered entirely ineffectual.

Colonel Baillie was ſaid to be much impeded in his march by heavy rains; the bad effects of which our camp likewiſe very ſeverely experienced, it having lightened, thundered, and rained inceſſantly for ſeveral days; which at that ſeaſon of the year was very unuſual and unexpected: we were, however, appriſed of his being then within twenty miles of us, and that he had croſſed the Trippaſore river.

Hyder had no ſooner diſcovered this, than he began to diſplay his generalſhip by the moſt maſterly manœuvres. He detached his ſon and partiſan Tippo Sahib with no leſs than forty thouſand horſe and foot with twelve guns, to intercept Colonel Baillie, whilſt he at the ſame time led the reſt of his army towards our camp, and made an appearance of offering us battle on the 6th of September.

General Munro, having had, I ſuppoſe, no particular intelligence to the contrary, imagined that Hyder Ally's whole force was before us; and, as at this time it was thought imprudent to hazard an action until joined by Colonel Baillie, the offer was declined; although the general declared it to be his firm intention, the moment the junction was formed, to give the enemy battle, as the moſt probable and certain means of producing an advantageous change in our preſent precarious ſituation. But, leſt they ſhould draw inferences favourable to themſelves from the general's reſolution, and as Colonel Baillie was hourly drawing nigher, he changed ground, and took up a ſtrong camp about two miles on the north ſide of Congeveram, in the face of Hyder's whole army, and upon the road from whence our friends were expected; all our ſuperfluous baggage and tents being left under a ſufficient guard in the pagoda of Congeveram. A large tank of water covered our left flank to the weſt, upon the other ſide of which, at the diſtance of about three miles, Hyder pitched his camp in order to watch our motions.

About noon on the ſame day a cannonade was heard at ſome diſtance, ſuppoſed to proceed from Colonel Baillie's detachment; and that night intelligence arrived from him, by the greateſt chance, of his having been attacked by Tippo Sahib at the village of Perambacum, diſtant from our army about fifteen miles; that he had beat off this ſuperior force with conſiderable loſs; but had exhauſted his ammunition and proviſions ſo much, that, without a ſupply of both, he had his doubts of being able to effect a junction. This was the firſt real information we had received of Tippo Sahib's being detached from Hyder's main army.

In this poſition both armies lay from the 6th to the 9th, without any material occurrence, although in ſight of each other. Here indeed night-ſallies might have been projected, but by no means eaſily executed; obſtacles conſtantly intervening ſufficient to defeat all the ſchemes of the moſt ſubtle warrior. The firſt and greateſt of theſe was a refulgent moon, which almoſt turned the night into day; and the enemy kept ſuch an inceſſant patrol of cavalry betwixt the two camps that it was impoſſible for the utmoſt art to counteract their vigilance. Even thoſe poor hircarrahs, or ſpies, who attempted to bring us the leaſt intelligence, generally did it at the expenſe of their ears and noſes, and ſome even of their lives; a riſk which at laſt no man would venture to run for any pecuniary reward whatever. The few country people that remained in their habitations were greatly diſaffected to our cauſe, having already given up the Carnatic as entirely loſt to us. But, beſides theſe diſadvantages, General Munro was ſo circumſtanced with reſpect to the preconcerted meaſures betwixt him and Colonel Baillie, for effecting the junction of their armies, that he would have been much to blame had he deviated from the judicious plan that had been laid down: and when we compare, with an impartial eye, the proſpect of ſucceſs with the diſadvantages that might occur, it muſt be acknowledged that the general acted here the part of a very ſkilful and prudent officer.

In conſequence of Colonel Baillie's information, Lieutenant-colonel Fletcher was detached to his aſſiſtance with the grenadiers and light infantry of the ſeventy-third regiment, the former commanded by the Honourable Lieutenant John Lindſay, and the latter by Captain Baird; two companies of European grenadiers under Captains Phillips and Ferrier; ſixty rifle-men led by Lieutenant Muat; five companies of ſepoy grenadiers commanded by Captain Rumley, and five more under Captain Gowdie, with nine camel loads of ammunition, and all the *doolies* * of the army.

About eight o'clock in the evening of the 8th Colonel Fletcher left the main army, carrying orders to Colonel Baillie that he ſhould proceed without delay towards Congeveram, whenever this detachment had joined him. Colonel Fletcher was fortunate enough, from his great ſagacity and knowledge of the country, to paſs Tippo's army unperceived, although challenged by the enemy's pickets, and might have eaſily ſtormed their camp had that been the intended object; but, purſuant to his inſtructions, he joined Colonel Baillie at ſix o'clock, in the morning of the 9th, at Perambacum.

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* Doolies are ſick-beds of the army, carried in the ſame manner as palanquins.

Colonel Fletcher had no ſooner departed from our camp than orders were iſſued to ſtrike tents and be in readineſs for marching immediately, in order to co-operate with Colonel Baillie as ſoon as occaſion ſhould require. We accordingly lay upon our arms for the future, lightly equipped for a march, the few tents that had been pitched upon that ground being ſent with the remainder of the baggage into the pagoda of Congeveram.

Colonel Baillie being now reinforced was in high ſpirits, and thought himſelf in a condition for reſiſting the whole of Hyder's force, ſhould he meditate an attack. According to orders he advanced from Perambacum after the evening parade on the 9th, keeping his baggage upon the right flank, and his left towards the enemy. But he had no ſooner cleared the precincts of his late encampment, than he was haraſſed upon all quarters by Tippo

Sahib's diviſion, which, opening ſome guns upon his rear, induced him to preſent the whole front of his line to that quarter. Shortly afterwards he was attacked upon his right flank, upon which he again changed his front to the right; which movement was followed by a fruitleſs attempt to ſtorm ſome of the enemy's guns. Theſe operations, however, retarded his march ſo much that he found it impoſſible to advance more than four miles that night, when the Colonel judged it moſt prudent to take poſt until day-break, I ſuppoſe that he might better ſee the poſition of his opponents, and the direct road towards the main army. But this proved an unfortunate and fatal determination, as it gave the enemy too much time to concert meaſures for his deſtruction, and in a great degree fruſtrated the concerted plan of operations betwixt him and the general, who had all this time ſuppoſed Colonel Baillie upon his march towards him; and conſidered the irregular firings, which were heard at different periods during the evening, as no more than the uſual ſkirmiſhing betwixt armies upon the line of march. About twelve o'clock theſe diſtant reports had entirely ſubſided, and all was quiet for the night.

Some officers, who ſeemed not ſo well acquainted with the ſtate of the army as Sir Hector himſelf, were now claim a degree of merit from having adviſed him, upon the noiſe of the firing, to move towards it without heſitation; which had he done whilſt

Hyder lay encamped ſo cloſe to him, his baggage and his ſmall reſidue of proviſions muſt have inevitably fallen into the enemy's hands, who, it is natural to ſuppoſe, would have inſtantly thrown their whole force between the Britiſh army and the city of Congeveram. In that caſe, we ſhould have brought ourſelves between the two formidable armies of our adverſary; deprived not only of ſubſiſtence for a ſingle day, but of every reſource, as the country all around for many miles had been totally deſolated. This was therefore a meaſure evidently too raſh to have been adopted as matters then ſtood.

During this ſituation of the Britiſh forces, Hyder Ally was, with much diligence and cunning, concerting meaſures with his ſon for an awful attack upon the unfortunate Baillie. Hyder's means of intelligence were ſo multiplied and ſuperior to ours, that nothing went on in either of our camps which he was not immediately informed of; and, finding that both our armies were in this perilous ſituation, he ſuddenly decamped about midnight, before it was poſſible for us to obtain the leaſt knowledge of his intentions, and formed a junction with his ſon Tippo. The fires of his camp were left blazing; and two or three thouſand horſe and rocketmen kept hovering round our main army, in order to conceal his enterpriſe from us; and early that morning he laid his whole force in ambuſh behind the woods and village of Polliloore, a place that greatly favoured his deſign, being a commanding ſpot of ground, interſected by deep ravins and water-courſes, and upon the only road for guns leading to Congeveram.

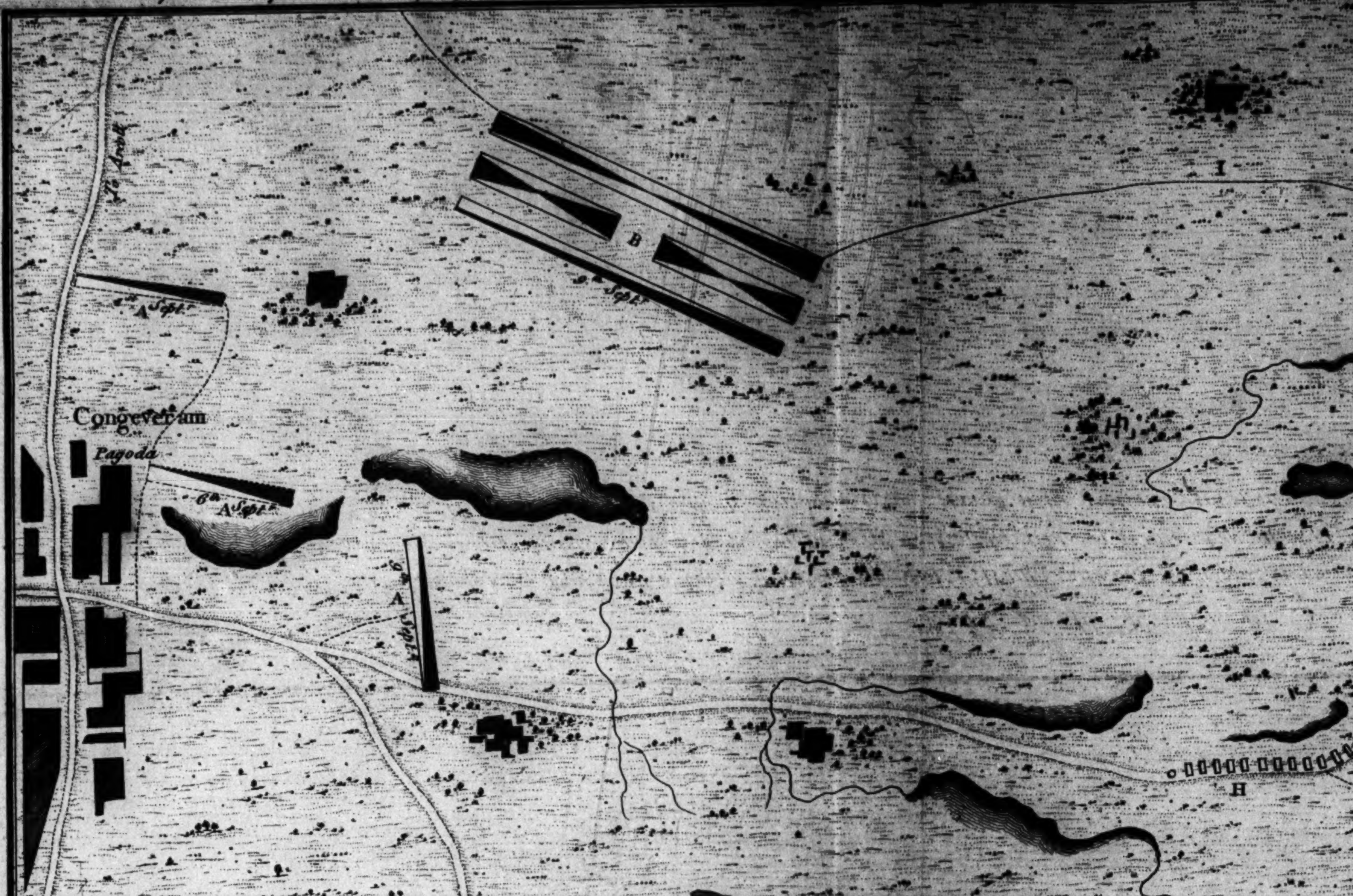
Next morning the ſun had no ſooner riſen than Hyder was perceived to have decamped, and Colonel Baillie was heard to renew the firing with additional fury. The general therefore marched towards them with the utmoſt diligence and expedition: but, though now every ſtrenuous effort was made to ſuccour our friends, all proved ineffectual; for the enemy had ſtruck the deciſive and fatal blow before our army could arrive time enough to counteract their deſigns. As we advanced towards Polliloore the enemy's horſe and matchlock-men were uncommonly active and daring in their attacks upon our rear-guard and flanks, which neceſſarily retarded our march a good deal; nor could we poſſibly hear the cannonading of Colonel Baillie's army through the noiſe of our own. Thus did our troops continue their route with all poſſible expedition till about ten o'clock of the day, when the firing ceaſed for a moment, until three ſignal-guns ſhould be diſcharged from our line, which not being anſwered by Colonel Baillie, nor any firing heard from that quarter, although we liſtened very attentively for ſome time, increaſed our doubts and awakened our fears about the fate of that unfortunate army. The general, upon this, rapidly continued his route until about twelve o'clock at noon, when ſome naked ſepoys, accompanied by ſome of our own hircarrahs, fell ſuddenly in with our advanced guard, not far diſtant at that time from the village of Polliloore, who announced to us the complete defeat of that gallant detachment, and informed us that Hyder, with the main body of his army, had retreated to ſome diſtance with all his European priſoners. Theſe unfortunate ſepoys bore inconteſtable proofs, by their mangled ſituation, of this ſad and melancholy cataſtrophe.

It appears that at day-break Colonel Baillie had continued his march, with every neceſſary precaution, from the place where he had taken poſt on the night before, Tippo's diviſion keeping cloſe upon his left flank. Whilſt they thus continued their route for two miles through a large avenue no material damage was ſuſtained; but, as the advanced guard of rifle-men turned off to the left on the road leading to Congeveram through the village of Polliloore, Tippo Sahib ordered ſome guns to play upon them from embraſures cut through the banks of water-courſes, which, haraſſing the line, it was judged expedient to ſilence. For this purpoſe an halt was made, and Captains Rumley and Gowdie were detached with two battalions of ſepoy grenadiers to ſeize them, in which they with great gallantry ſucceeded; but the appearance of a ſuperior force, rapidly advancing to cut off their communication with the line, obliged them almoſt immediately to abandon their prize and retreat to their former ſituation. Colonel Baillie, meanwhile, perceiving a formidable force collecting before him, made a diſpoſition of his little army, with the utmoſt judgment and coolneſs, nearly in the form of an oblong ſquare, having placed the field-pieces at proper intervals, with the followers and baggage in the centre; but unfortunately upon ground commanded almoſt upon every direction. Soon after this had been done, they were furiouſly beſet upon all quarters by Hyder Ally's whole army, who now appeared in ſight, and, with Tippo's diviſion, completely ſurrounded them. The colonel could make but a feeble reſiſtance againſt ſo ſuperior a force; but his little band yet gallantly ſupported a very unequal fire, until their whole ammunition had either been blown up or expended, which of courſe ſilenced the Britiſh artillery. Hyder's guns upon this drew nearer and nearer at every diſcharge, while each ſhot was attended with certain and deadly effect. Colonel Baillie's detachment, ſeeing their artillery ſilenced, and remaining inactive while expoſed to certain deſtruction, very naturally became diſmayed; which the enemy no ſooner perceived than they made a movement for a general charge, and advanced on all quarters to a cloſe attack. At this dangerous and trying juncture, ſufficient to damp the ſpirits of the moſt intrepid, all the camp followers ruſhed in confuſion through the ranks of every battalion, and in an inſtant threw the whole into diſorder. The black troops, finding themſelves in this calamitous ſituation, relinquiſhed every hope of ſucceſs; and, notwithſtanding the extraordinary exertions of their European officers, were no more to be rallied. But ſuch of the Europeans as had fallen into diſorder by this irregularity quickly united again in compact order, headed by their gallant commander, who was at this time much wounded; and, being joined by all the ſepoy officers, planted themſelves upon a riſing bank of ſand in their vicinity, where they valiantly reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. Hiſtory cannot produce an inſtance, for fortitude, cool intrepidity, and deſperate reſolution, to equal the exploits of this heroic band. In numbers now reduced to five hundred, they were oppoſed by no leſs than one hundred thouſand enraged barbarians, who ſeldom ever grant quarter. The mind, in the contemplation of ſuch a ſcene, and ſuch a ſituation as theirs then was, is filled at once with admiration, with aſtoniſhment, with horror, and with awe. To behold formidable and impenetrable bodies of horſe, of infantry, and of artillery, advancing from all quarters, flaſhing ſavage fury, levelling the numberleſs inſtruments of ſlaughter, and darting deſtruction around, was a ſcene to appal even ſomething more than the ſtrongeſt human reſolution; but it was beheld by this little band with the moſt undaunted and immoveable firmneſs. Diſtinct bodies of horſe came on ſucceſſively to the charge, with ſtrong parties of infantry placed in the intervals, whoſe fire was diſcharged in ſhowers; but the deliberate and well-levelled platoons of the Britiſh muſquetry had ſuch a powerful effect as to repulſe ſeveral different attacks. Like the ſwelling waves of the ocean, however, when agitated by a ſtorm, freſh columns inceſſantly poured in upon them with redoubled fury, which at length brought ſo many to the ground, and weakened their fire ſo conſiderably, that they were unable longer to withſtand the dreadful and tremendous ſhock; and the field ſoon preſented a picture of the moſt inhuman cruelties and unexampled carnage.

The laſt and awful ſtruggle was marked by the claſhing of arms and ſhields, the ſnorting and kicking of horſes, the ſnapping of ſpears, the gliſtening of bloody ſwords, oaths and imprecations; concluding with the groans and cries of bruiſed and mutilated men, wounded horſes tumbling to the ground upon expiring ſoldiers, and the hideous roaring of elephants ſtalking to and fro, and wielding their dreadful chains alike amongſt friends and foes. Such as were ſaved from the immediate ſtroke of death were ſo crowded together that it was with difficulty they could ſtand: ſeveral were in a ſtate of ſuffocation; while others, from the weight of the dead bodies that had fallen upon them, were fixed to the ſpot at the mercy of a furious foe. It muſt be remarked, however, that among the enemy there were ſome whoſe hearts were tinctured with humanity, but of too inferior a proportion to prevent the cruel ravages of the more numerous barbarians. Some with broken limbs were dragged round the fatal plains with unrelenting fury, while the heads of others were wantonly ſevered from their bodies, that the

ſavage

PLAN of the Attacks made upon L^t.
by Hyder Ally and Tippo Sahib, on the 6th & 10th Sept. 1780 when


To Arcot
1st A Sept.
B
9th Sept.
I
Congeveram
Pagoda
6th A Sept.
A
9th Sept.
H
F
K
H
To Chingliput
Road to Madrass

Innes Munro del^t.

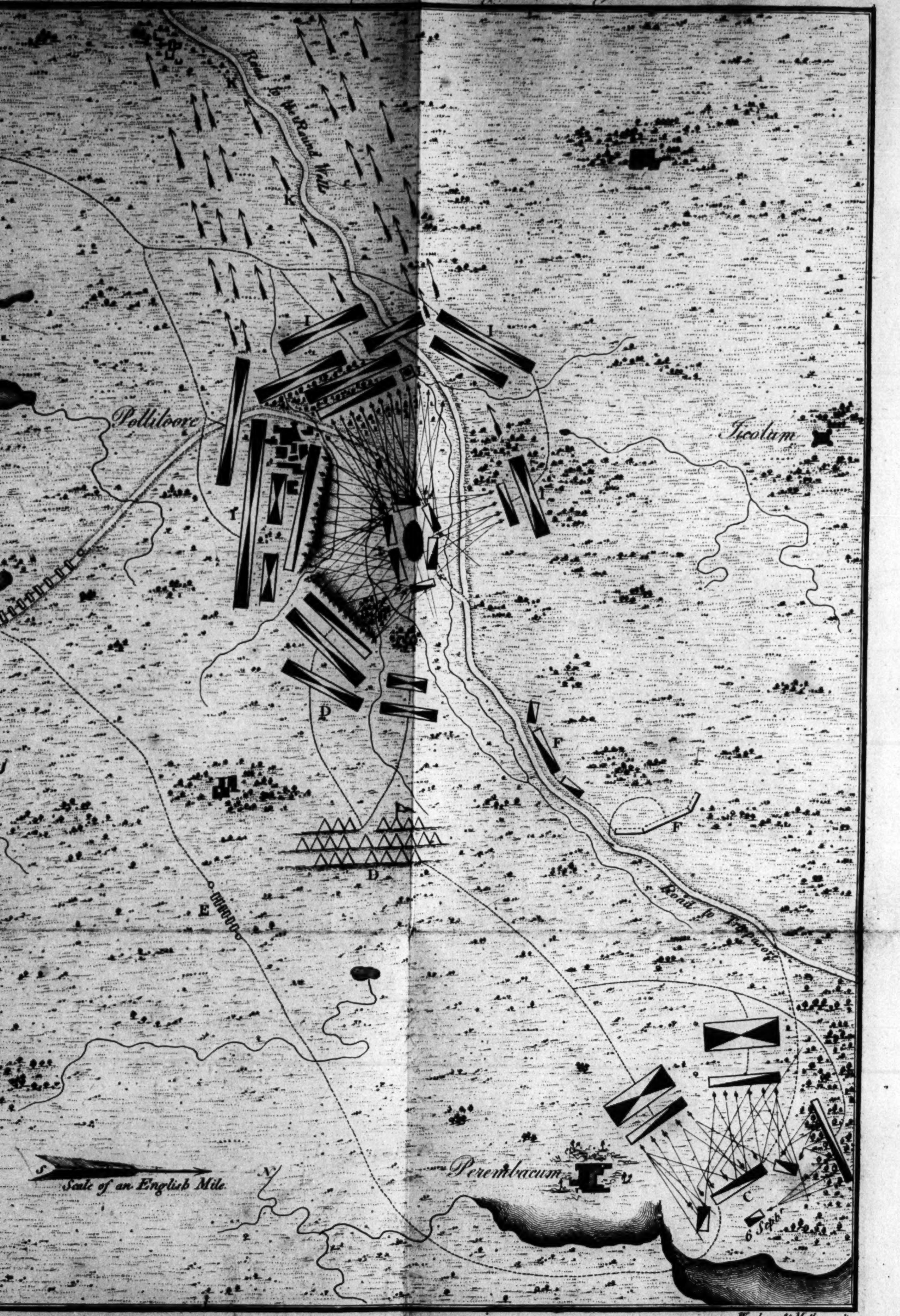
REFEREN

A. English Camp on the 1st 6th & 9th September. B. Hyder Ally's Camp on the 9th Sepr. C. L^t. C^l. Baillie attacked by Tippo, at Peren
with the Grenadiers. F.F. Baillies positions when halted, & attacked in the Night of 9th G. Baillies Order of Battle, when attacked b
of the 9th & position on the 10th K.K. ⟶ Hyder Ally's Retreat with the Prisoners to the Round Wells. I. Hyder Ally's station du

Publish'd as the Act directs March 31st 1789.

1506

L.T C.L BAILLIE
n upon his way to Join the English Army at Congeveram.


Road to the Round Well
K
K
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Iscolum
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F
E
Road to Trippasore
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C
6 Sept.
Scale of an English Mile
S
N

Woodman & Mutlow sculp.

CES.

nbacum on the 6th September. D.D. Tippos Camp 9th Sept.r & his position the 10th E. Lt. Cl. Fletcher's Rout
by Hyder. on the 10th. H. English Army upon its way to Succour Baillie. I.I. Rout of Hyder's Army in the Night
uring the Attack.

ſavage executioner might have an opportunity of laying at the conqueror's feet that mark of his brutal triumph. Some were trampled under the feet of elephants, camels, and horſes; and thoſe who were ſeverely wounded, being ſtripped of their clothes, lay expoſed to the painful effects of a ſcorching ſun, without water (the greateſt cordial a wounded man can receive), and died a lingering and miſerable death, becoming a prey to all the ravenous animals of the clime. Even women and innocent children were equal ſufferers on this bloody plain. Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher and twenty-nine European officers, with one hundred and fifty-five European rank and file, were killed: Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie, with thirty-four officers, and almoſt all the European privates, were miſerably wounded; and ſixteen officers and privates, from a divine protection, and the generous clemency of the French huſſars, remained unhurt, who, with the reſt, were all made priſoners. The whole of the ſepoys were either killed, taken, or diſperſed.

In a review of this melancholy and fatal event, that no imputation may fall on any individual, it is neceſſary to recur to the origin of the ill-concerted expedition. It was firſt ſuggeſted, as has been already obſerved, by the nabob of Arcot, (who was very naturally ſolicitous to ſave his capital), and eagerly embraced by the council. The only plauſible reaſon which they could adduce in ſupport of a meaſure of ſuch ſingular hazard, was the impoſſibility of ſupporting the army, when reinforced, in the vicinity of Madras. No proviſions had been laid in by them; nor the ſmalleſt preparation made for the ſupport even of a force ſo inconſiderable. They therefore, without any conſideration of probable contingencies, reſolved upon ſending out the army to forage for themſelves, who were to be joined by another ſtill worſe provided than they were. Had Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie's detachment been ordered to repair to St. Thomas's Mount, as propoſed by Sir Hector Munro and Lord Macleod, it is probable it would have accompliſhed the junction without moleſtation, as Hyder's whole army was then before Arcot. When united, they might then have had the ability to execute any judiciouſly concerted plan which might have tended to the relief of the ſettlement.

While I profeſs my admiration of the enterpriſing ſpirit of Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie, and lament his unhappy fate, yet, as the melancholy period of his expedition will probably become the topic of general converſation in many circles of your acquaintance at home, it may be proper to point out to you, who are unacquainted with the nature of military operations, two circumſtances which appear to have materially contributed to the accompliſhment of this fatal diſaſter. His halting ſo long in the night, contrary to the inſtructions ſent to him from the General by Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher, was unqueſtionably an imprudent meaſure. The ſpeedy union of the two armies was eſſential to the preſervation of both; and, had he continued his route, this muſt have been effected early in the morning, in deſpite of every obſtacle, which would have put the general in a condition to execute his intended plan of giving battle to the enemy, and opening a paſſage to Arcot, the only place where proviſions were to be found. It ſeemed alſo a great omiſſion in Colonel Baillie not to take poſſeſſion of the village of Polliloore, which was not then above eight hundred yards from his right, in place of indulging Tippo in his views of procraſtination until his father ſhould arrive, by drawing up his army on diſadvantageous ground, and ſending out detachments to ſeize guns that could render him, though ſucceſsful, no material advantage. Even after Hyder's diviſion appeared clearly to be in poſſeſſion of the village, it may with reaſon be ſuppoſed that the detachment of grenadiers which marched from our army, led by an officer of ſuch intrepidity and judgment as Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher, (ſupported by the reſt of Colonel Baillie's command under his own gallant direction, having their flanks properly ſcoured by the Britiſh artillery as they advanced), would have put him in ſafe poſſeſſion of the village, where he might have made a ſucceſsful ſtand until joined by the main army then rapidly marching towards him, nor ought the water-courſe intervening to have been conſidered on ſuch an occaſion as any material obſtacle. Human nature, however, is never infallible. Events are educed by means which at the time are not equally perceptible to all: miſconception therefore, particularly when it leads to unparalleled ſuffering and diſaſter, is not ſurely to be imputed as a fault. The gallantry of Colonel Baillie was undoubted; his virtues were acknowledged by all; and his calamitous end muſt excite the ſigh of pity in every boſom not wholly unaſſailable by the accumulated misfortunes of another.

Hyder Ally had no ſooner achieved this deciſive victory, than he ſuddenly retired with his army, and as many of the unfortunate captives as could at that time be conveniently carried off from the field of battle, to a place called the Round Wells, about five miles from the ſcene of action, where he ſat exalted upon a green bank, ſurrounded by many of his principal officers, to muſter the priſoners, who were drawn up before him in a ſemicircle as they arrived.

Colonel Baillie, ſtiff with wounds, and many other diſabled officers, were placed at the conqueror's feet, whilſt he diſtributed rewards to his people in proportion to the number of European priſoners they produced. At the ſame time ſeveral European heads were preſented to him; many of which their countrymen, perhaps their own relatives, were inhumanly forced to carry: but Hyder, ſeeing how much the feelings of their brother officers were hurt at this ſhocking ſcene, had the humanity to give orders that this practice ſhould be diſcontinued while they were preſent.

Every moment of this fatal day preſented to our unfortunate countrymen freſh inſtances of barbarity and ſavage reſentment. Some had been dragged to Hyder's camp, ſo mangled, ſo beſmeared with blood, and covered with duſt, that not a feature was to be recogniſed; ſome had dropped ſpeechleſs upon the road from the cruel treatment of their conductors, who refuſed them even a drink of water to quench their burning thirſt. Even the gentle little offices of humanity, which thoſe leſs maimed might have ſhewn to their fellows, were cruelly interdicted; their ſavage guards buffeting and beating them with the ends of their firelocks on the ſlighteſt ſymptom of tenderneſs which melting nature might diſcover. Others were relieved from the excruciating tortures which they endured by a ſucceſſion of fainting fits, until, by total inſenſibility, they finally eluded the unrelenting perſecutions of their hardened guards. But if the condition of theſe juſtly excites the deepeſt feelings of human pity, thoſe who were left bleeding upon the field of battle, both during the ſcorching heat of the day, and the awful ſilence of the night, merit our commiſeration in a yet greater degree. It was the fate of many to lie in this deplorable ſtate for upwards of eight-and-forty hours before they got the ſmalleſt relief. Amongſt this number was one of my moſt intimate friends, whoſe melancholy ſituation will be beſt deſcribed in the words of his own letter to me, written ſoon after his impriſonment at Bangalore, and which I think will convey a ſtriking idea of the ſufferings of the whole.

‘ I was much wounded, and left upon the field a real ſpectacle of human miſery, ſuffering every anxiety and diſtreſs attendant upon ſuch a deplorable ſituation. It was ſome conſolation, however, that a generous and humane brother officer ſhared the ground with me the firſt night. He, not being ſo much diſabled as I was, rendered me all the aid in his power, and contributed to preſerve my then uncertain exiſtence. This act of friendſhip I ſhall ever acknowledge with the warmeſt gratitude; and as the gentleman and I were until then entire ſtrangers to each other it makes me prize his benevolence the more. My kind protector was at laſt ſeparated from me on the morning after the action, and promiſed, if poſſible, to ſend me ſome aſſiſtance; but that, alas! was entirely out of his power.

‘ The ſenſations which I now felt are hardly to be deſcribed, as I lay perfectly naked upon a ſcorching bank of ſand, and quite faint with the loſs of blood. Both of my arms were miſerably ſhattered, and my back ſeverely wounded; it was therefore impoſſible for me either to walk or crawl. So intenſe and craving was my thirſt, that, after many feeble and vain attempts to moiſten my parched mouth with herbs and graſs, neceſſity at laſt forced me to have recourſe to the moiſture of my own body. All proſpects of relief were by this time very uncertain, ſo that to drag out a painful exiſtence, without food or drink, ſeemed now to be my moſt probable doom. The diſmal fate of many then

‘ around me, the dead bodies, and diſtorted countenances of thoſe ſuffering in the agonizing moment, tended all to confirm me in this diſconſolate opinion. An awful darkneſs now came on, and gloomy horror reigned triumphant. The groans, the plainings, and ſupplications, of the dying; the ravages and howlings of jackals; the diſtant peals of thunder and inceſſant torrents of rain; all conſpired to diſturb the ſilence of night and increaſe my afflictions.

‘ At laſt, as it drew towards morning, extreme deſpair huſhed my ſorrows into a melancholy calm and entire reſignation to the will of the Almighty, expecting that a few hours more would ſee me at reſt, and eaſe me from every miſery of this painful exiſtence; but I had no ſooner compoſed myſelf for this deſirable event, than ſome of the enemy, who had been ordered by Hyder to examine the field of battle, perceived me, and that I ſtill lived. Thoſe people, being poſſeſſed of ſome ſhare of humanity, gently raiſed me from the ground; and, finding that I was in a moſt helpleſs ſituation, carried me off upon their ſhoulders. From weakneſs and ſevere pain, I continued in a ſtate of inſenſibility, relapſing from one fainting fit into another for a conſiderable time: at laſt, in ſome meaſure recovering from this ſtate of ſtupefaction, I had the mortification to behold myſelf an humble captive in the enemy's camp, where however I enjoyed the

‘ inexpreſſible pleaſure of beholding my generous benefactor, and ‘ many of the officers who had been carried priſoners off the field. ‘ Even amidſt the direful pangs of adverſe fortune, it is the firſt ‘ of conſolations to enjoy the company of our friends; but, when ‘ in captivity with barbarians, the very ſight of a Briton yields ‘ a pleaſure that none but thoſe of our countrymen who have ‘ experienced it can properly deſcribe.’

At a time when priſoners of war in other countries conſider their misfortunes at an end by falling into the power of a generous foe, in whoſe camp the unfortunate never fail to meet with ſympathy and reſpect, the miſeries of our unhappy countrymen were yet but in their riſe. In the mercileſs hands of barbarous Mahomedans, perſecutors of their religion and of their colour, inured to cruelties, and utter ſtrangers to humanity, how dreary was the proſpect which opened to their view! Their conquerors, ſwayed only by the blackeſt paſſions of the human heart, exhauſted every art that might tend to humiliate and depreſs the agonized feelings of their Britiſh priſoners. Smarting with the excruciating pain of undreſſed wounds, their ſpirits ſinking under the repeated indignities and abuſe which they hourly experienced; and not only denied the common neceſſaries of life, but ſtripped of every covering to ſhield them from the viciſſitudes of the climate; their gloomy minds could ſuggeſt ideas only of perpetual ſlavery, of eternal ſeparation

ration from each other, their country and their friends. Human miſery I believe has ſeldom attained ſo afflicting a criſis. Wounded alike in body and in mind, the termination of exiſtence ſeemed the only good that was left them, and the fate of thoſe who had periſhed upon the bloody field appeared to them to be equally happy and enviable.

Under this load of ſorrow, of apprehenſion, and of ſuffering, they remained for ſome days in the enemy's camp, when they were removed to Arcot and Arnè. From thence the whole were ſoon afterwards marched in an ignominious manner to Seringapatnam, Bangalore, and other remote garriſons in the Miſore country, eſcorted by a ſtrong guard, who led them round every little village on the road, as a public teſtimony of their heroic exploits.

In the courſe of this march they were dreadfully expoſed, from their naked condition, to the violence of the ſun. They were ſo ſeverely ſcorched that none could enjoy the leaſt repoſe, but thoſe who, by good fortune, had procured a little oil with which they might anoint their bodies. To complete their miſeries, upon their arrival at the priſons appointed for them, their legs and arms were loaded with heavy irons and they were immured in horrid dungeons, where, during a wretched captivity, the treatment which they had to anticipate was ſuch as hardly to be paralleled in the black annals of Aſiatic cruelty. Such was the fate of this brave but unfortunate detachment. With the tear of commiſeration ſtarting involuntarily from my eye, I turn to the continuation of this melancholy period of my narrative.

The dreadful account of the defeat of Lieutenant-colonel Baillie's detachment circulated like wild-fire through the main army, and threw a viſible damp upon the ſpirits of the whole. General Munro perceiving this, and concluding that it would be vain for him to proceed further againſt an enemy ſo powerful and rapid in their motions, totally deſtitute as he then was of proviſions and other neceſſary ſtores, and not having the ſmalleſt conception of the forlorn ſituation in which many of the unfortunate ſufferers had been left upon the field of battle, wiſely judged a retreat to Congeveram, where he had left all the baggage and ſtores of his army, the moſt prudent ſtep he could take in ſo critical a juncture. By a vain proſecution of revenge, the preſent diſaſter might have been rendered irretrievable, in a total annihilation of the only baſe that now remained for the formation of another Britiſh army.

The troops were therefore put to the right-about, reverſing the duties of the rear and advanced guards, and returned in a precipitate manner, followed by immenſe ſquadrons of horſe, who preſſed us hard upon all quarters until we reached the city of Congeveram about ſeven o'clock in the evening, having marched in all that day about eighteen miles.

Every experienced officer knows how quickly the idea of a retreat diffuſes deſpondency and terror into the minds of ſoldiers unaccuſtomed to adverſity. Let the propriety of it be ever ſo palpable or clearly explained to them, yet it is impoſſible to convince them that they are not completely vanquiſhed, that ſometimes a retreat may be conducive to a victory, or that, at particular periods, the neceſſity for ſuch an expedient may be preſſing and abſolute. Such was the caſe with us. The troops now ſeemed to look for nothing elſe but annihilation; and their fears were greatly heightened by the extravagant and fallacious reports brought hourly into the line by freſh ſepoys and drummers, who had made their eſcape in the night, and confirmed all that had been ſaid of Colonel Baillie's detachment, alleging that no quarter had been given to man, woman, or child; and that each of the enemy's ſepoys had carried an European head upon his pike to Hyder's tent. It was no pleaſing reflection to our diſpirited ſoldiers that perhaps their own heads might be exalted in the ſame conſpicuous manner before four-and-twenty hours ſhould paſs away.

Nor was it an eaſy matter in this predicament to determine what meaſures it would be beſt to adopt for the future operations of the army. General Munro therefore immediately reſolved to conſult a council of war, when it was unanimouſly agreed, as the army was ſo ſhort of proviſions and other neceſſaries for the field, that we ſhould make the beſt of our way to Chingliput, and from thence to Madras with the utmoſt expedition.

Four hours had only been allotted for our halt at Congeveram, during which time the troops lay upon their arms in two large ſtreets croſſing each other, a circumſtance that occaſioned great confuſion amongſt ſuch a multitude of followers; nor did our anxiety of mind permit us to enjoy the leaſt repoſe, much fatigued and naraſſed as we had been during the whole preceding day.

The baggage was no ſooner withdrawn from the large pagoda of Congeveram, and our heavy battering guns thrown off the trunpions into a deep tank of water, than the march was re-commenced without beat of drum at four o'clock in the morning; but we had no ſooner got clear of the town than a body of no leſs than twenty thouſand horſe made their appearance at day-break, which Hyder had diſpatched to haraſs our march; and into whoſe hands moſt part of our baggage fell, before we had quitted ſight of Congeveram.

The army now proceeded upon its route to Chingliput, keeping the right flank covered by the Palliar river the whole way; but, notwithſtanding this advantage, the line was ſo haraſſed in all other quarters, that our rear-guard was ſeveral times very near being cut off; and to the activity of Lord M'Leod, who commanded in the rear, were we indebted for its preſervation, he having given it frequent ſupport from the rear battalions, whilſt the line continued the retreat.

The ſeverity of the march was inconceivable; for the poor ſoldiers had not only to repel the fury of barbarians, but alſo to contend with the irreſiſtible and oppreſſive force of the ſun, with hunger and fatigue, the united influence of which occaſioned the diſſolution of many of our braveſt men, who were thereby fortunate in eſcaping the accumulated indignities and torture inflicted by a barbarous enemy.

All endeavours in the rear to preſerve the baggage were ineffectual; and it was impoſſible for ſepoys in ſuch deſpair to reſiſt the temptation of liquor, which was every where ſcattered upon the road. The whole of them and our camp-followers embraced that only method of raiſing their drooping ſpirits; as did the enemy likewiſe to increaſe the rage of their inhuman cruelty, which they took every opportunity of exerciſing, without regard to the diſtinctions of age or ſex.

As night approached the timidity of the ſepoys increaſed; they became at laſt ſo intoxicated that no orders whatever could prevent them from firing irregularly amongſt our own followers, who were frequently miſtaken for the enemy; as indeed were moſt other objects they ſaw during the night. A regular force might at this time have deſtroyed the whole of us, but happily Hyder Ally's troops did not come under that denomination, and were equally fatigued with ourſelves.

Thus, after a tireſome and unceaſing march of thirty-two miles, we at length reached Chingliput upon the morning of the 12th, without having taſted any kind of refreſhment, excepting one or two drams and biſcuits, from eight o'clock of the 9th, before we marched to the aſſiſtance of Colonel Baillie.

Here our regiment had the misfortune of burying Captain Gilchriſt, a brave and experienced officer, whoſe loſs the ſeventy-third had much cauſe to lament, he having always acted as a mentor to the young and inexperienced gentlemen of his corps. This veteran had the honour, when a ſubaltern, of witneſſing the exploits of General Wolfe upon the plains of Quebec, and was now at the head of our grenadier company; but, having exerted himſelf too much upon the march to Congeveram, he was ſeized at that place with a fever, which, diſabling him from conducting the grenadiers upon the detachment under Lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, affected his mind ſo deeply, particularly when he heard of their diſmal fate, that a delirium came on during this march, of which he died, regretted and juſtly lamented by all.

About five hours after we had encamped at Chingliput we were joined by Lieutenant-colonel Coſby, with a detachment of one thouſand ſepoys, and three regiments of cavalry, which General Munro had ordered ſome time before to march from Trichinopoly, in order to intercept ſome convoys coming to the enemy through Shangama paſs; but, having miſſed them, was now ordered to repair to the main army at Congeveram. Upon his way thither, a gallant but vain attempt was made to ſtorm the fort of Chitaput, one of Hyder Ally's late acquiſitions; after which, having heard of our misfortune, the colonel, like a judicious officer, changed his route to Chingliput, where his arrival contributed much to elate our ſpirits.

From Chingliput the whole army moved, at five o'clock in the evening of the 14th, upon the road to Madras; and, to our ſurpriſe, were but little haraſſed by the enemy's horſe, who it ſeems were perfectly well ſatisfied with the booty of the preceding day, and had retired to regale themſelves at our expenſe.

About twelve o'clock next day we encamped at Marmalong river, near St. Thomas's Mount, and ſincerely congratulated each other upon our narrow eſcape from deſtruction, though accompliſhed with the loſs of our whole baggage; for which moſt of us vainly hoped the Company would have made ample recompenſe to the army; but we found ourſelves egregiouſly miſtaken in our ideas of their liberality.

A month had only elapſed in this camp when cantonments were marked out for us upon Choultry plains and St. Thomè, into which we marched about the end of September, in order to recruit our ſpirits, and recover from the exceſſive fatigues which we had experienced in the courſe of this inauſpicious expedition.

We had no leſs than five hundred men killed and wounded upon the whole of the retreat. Here I think it incumbent upon me to extenuate the irregularities of the ſepoys in both the Engliſh armies concerned in this ill-fated excurſion. Thoſe in Colonel Baillie's detachment had ſhewn the greateſt bravery upon many occaſions, but moſt conſpicuouſly ſo upon the 10th of September, having ſtood undaunted the whole fire of the enemy, from ſeven in the morning until nine, when a fatal accident only broke their order and threw them into irretrievable confuſion. When once the beſt and moſt veteran troops are broken and become panic-ſtruck, the difficulty of rallying them again is well known to experienced officers. Had not the fatal circumſtance which I allude to happened (of the camp-followers breaking the ranks of his detachment), I doubt not but, under the conduct of ſuch an able officer as commanded them, they might have braved all danger until the main army had joined. The fate of this detachment is at any rate ſufficient to evince the hazard and folly of carrying ſuch a train of baggage and followers along with an army into the field.

Many of Colonel Baillie's ſepoys who effected their eſcape from wounds and the enemy, notwithſtanding the dangers which they had ſo recently encountered, fought hard in General Munro's army next day, which was no ſmall mark of their loyalty and courage. Nor was their ſubſequent conduct in the main army much to be wondered at, for they ſuſtained the whole brunt of the retreat; and better troops than they have been known to yield to the temptations that were thrown in their way upon the route from Congeveram. Their exceſſive fatigues in ſome meaſure warranted the free uſe of liquor; and which likewiſe might be in a great meaſure the cauſe of ſpeedy intoxication. After every thing that can be adduced againſt them, it muſt be acknowledged that the Company's ſepoys are good troops, and exceedingly well officered.

Hyder now returned to the ſiege of Arcot, which capitulated after a faint reſiſtance of ſix weeks. It was ſtipulated that the garriſon ſhould *not ſerve for the remainder of the war*. And, having now ſecured cantonments for his army during the rainy ſeaſon, Hyder ordered them to be eſcorted by a guard of horſe to Madras.

In Arcot, arms, ſtores and ammunition, for forty thouſand men are ſaid to have been depoſited. Such an acquiſition as this, together with his extraordinary ſucceſſes in the field, could not but terminate the operations of his firſt campaign to the perfect ſatisfaction of Hyder Ally.

Though the council and inhabitants of Madras were ſeriouſly alarmed by the ſudden return of the army, which brought with it intelligence of the recent diſaſters, yet even this was not ſufficient to extinguiſh their inteſtine cabals. They were, however, unanimouſly of opinion "That a requiſition ſhould be made to Bengal "for a ſupply of troops and money," in whatever other points they might diſagree.

The ſupreme council of Bengal no ſooner underſtood the perilous ſituation of affairs at Madras, than they ordered thither the commander in chief, Lieutenant-general Sir Eyre Coote, to take the command of the army, with fifteen lacks of rupees, and a detachment of four hundred European infantry and two hundred artillery; directing, at the ſame time, that Governor Whitill ſhould be immediately ſuperſeded by Mr. Charles Smith, firſt in council. Thus, much was to be expected next campaign from ſuch a revolution in government, and ſo great and ſeaſonable a ſupply of money and troops.

Beſides theſe liberal aids, they had alſo given orders for another large detachment of ten battalions of ſepoys, and twenty-two guns, under the command of Colonel Pierce, to march from Bengal early in the ſpring, in order to reinforce our army.

Soon after our return to Madras, Lord M'Leod diſpatched a meſſenger to Hyder Ally, requeſting the reſtitution of ſome important papers, which had been taken in his lordſhip's baggage on the retreat from Congeveram. To this meſſage Hyder haughtily replied that ' in ſo *ſmall* an army as the Britiſh, ſuch a thing might ' be done; but how was it poſſible for the commander of *one* ' *hundred thouſand men*, to attend to ſuch trifles?'

Whilſt Hyder remained in winter quarters at Arcot, his flying irregulars, encouraged by their late ſucceſſes, overran the whole country at pleaſure in queſt of plunder. The poor inoffenſive natives were thus chaſed by fire and ſword from their wretched retreats, and obliged to wander, like ravenous animals, through woods and mountains, prowling for a wretched ſupport, many dying by famine, and many more being ſacrificed to the enemy's ſavage thirſt of blood. Thoſe who eſcaped with their lives very generally ſuffered mutilation in a ſhocking degree, and many unfortunate women became victims to a brutal luſt. Some, however, had the fortitude to take themſelves off by poiſon, rather than ſubmit to ſuch ſhameful indignities.

Theſe ruffians alſo penetrated to the ſouth, as far as the Tanjore country, where they exerciſed the ſame predatory ravages, every where marking their footſteps by the moſt awful deſolation.

It was reported that Hyder, in the courſe of his intoxicating proſperity, ordered Tippo to be ſolemnly proclaimed in Arcot NABOB OF THE CARNATIC: and when the firſt fury of invaſion began to ſubſide, he aſſured the country labourers and manufacturers of his protection, if they would return to their former occupations and places of abode; declaring himſelf a friend to them, though an enemy to the Engliſh; and, in order to encourage them, reſtrained his ſoldiers from any future depredations.

But thoſe poor deluded creatures had no ſooner ſallied from their concealments upon the faith of this proclamation, and begun to reſume their reſpective occupations, than they were ſwept away into captivity; thouſands of children of all caſts and ſexes, many of whom were training up to arts and uſeful manufactures, being daily carried off on purpoſe to people the Miſore dominions; Hyder having wiſely conſidered the great utility and advantage he might reap from this cruel policy both in peace and war.

LETTER XIII.

Choultry-Plain, December 1780.

It may not be amiſs, whilſt in winter quarters, to give you ſome idea of the manner in which an eaſtern army is aſſembled for war, and their ſingular mode of marching; without a knowledge of which it is merely impoſſible for any one properly to judge of the military operations in this country.

When it is reſolved to bring an army into the field, ſome favourite gentlemen of the civil line are immediately contracted with as commiſſaries and agents, to furniſh a certain number of troops with tents, beef, and mutton; rice, arrack, and draught and carriage bullocks.

Here it is proper to obſerve, that bullocks of the ſtouteſt kind are ſubſtituted inſtead of horſes in Indian armies, to drag their cannon; there being allotted to each piece of ordnance, upon an average, one ox to every pound weight of metal in the ball, and a few ſpare ones to ſerve upon emergencies, with a proper proportion of drivers. Bullocks are alſo uſed for carrying all the ſtores of an army, ſuch as rice, caſks of gunpowder, and other military apparatus; likewiſe all the tents in camp, and every other article appertaining to the quarter-maſter's department: ſo that, without prodigious droves of theſe uſeful animals, it is merely impoſſible for an army to take the field; and conſequently the perſon who contracts with the Company to furniſh draught and carriage-bullocks at a certain advanced price muſt in a very ſhort time accumulate an handſome fortune. He may alſo be ſaid in a manner to command the movements of the troops; as without thoſe cattle they cannot poſſibly ſtir from the quarters.—Bullocks, money, and faithful ſpies, are the ſinews of war in this country. Judge then what fatal conſequences might occur, if the enemy found means to *reward* theſe agents for being remiſs in their duty at any particular emergency.

The agent for draught bullocks and the contractor for proviſions generally underſtand each other well. When the latter is at any time hard puſhed for proviſions, the former contrives to lame two or three hundred of his carriage oxen, which are clandeſtinely transferred over to his friend; there being nothing eaſier than to report them at head-quarters either 'lamed upon the march,' or 'expended in the ſervice;' and none can pretend to diſpute the truth of the matter; for his black ſervants and others will at any time ſwear, for an adequate *douceur*, to any thing propoſed to them. The agent muſt of courſe be ordered immediately to ſupply this loſs with freſh bullocks, which you know is ſerving himſelf and his friend at the ſame time. Nor is it difficult, when trade is ſlack, to ſuffer, through the careleſſneſs of his herdſmen or drivers, two or three thouſand of the draught and carriage cattle to ſtraggle occaſionally beyond the advanced pickets of the army, and fall into the hands of the enemy, under pretext that there was no good forage or paſture to be found nearer at hand. Theſe are uſually reported 'taken by the enemy.'

It is only when foraging parties are unſucceſsful that the commiſſary for proviſions has recourſe to the aid of his friends, and that his office becomes moſt lucrative: although a little, indeed I may ſay all, occaſionally ſticks to his hands in ſuperintending the diſpoſal of the cattle and grain ſeized by the army in the courſe of a campaign, and always retailed to a good account in the public *bazar* or ſutling-houſes, nominally for the benefit of the troops; but which in the end devolves to himſelf and his aſſiſtants; for perhaps, like a ſuit in Chancery, it may take up the whole life-time both of himſelf and his heirs, to adjuſt his accounts to the perfect ſatisfaction of the army. In arranging theſe documents, the mode purſued is quite different from that practiſed in giving in a ſtate of diſburſements to the Eaſt-India Company; the one being formed by the rules of *ſubtraction*, and the other by that of *multiplication*. This gentleman alſo derives an handſome profit from the arrack-contract, which is generally given to him in order to make up his *deficiencies* upon other occaſions.

It is almoſt impoſſible for me to follow the rice-agent through all the mazes of his intricate buſineſs. Rice being the ſtaff of life in India, he muſt have a ſufficient quantum of it for every ſoldier and follower in the army, which the former get *gratis* in the field, as they do their meat and drams; but the coolies and others are cauſed to pay for their quotas at a ſtated price; ſo that his profits greatly depend upon the conſumption, which muſt be conſiderable in a numerous army, beſides what he may privately contrive to diſpoſe of at an high price to the diſtreſſed inhabitants in different towns through which the army paſſes. This may be reported, ‘ taken or left behind, for want of bullocks, upon the line of ‘ march,’ the cattle being afterwards diſpoſed of in ſuch a manner as to confer a mutual obligation upon the whole triumvirate.

Officers are neither at the expenſe of providing or conveying their tents in this country. The liberality of the Company ſupplies them with this accommodation of the very beſt kind. The tents which they contract for are full twice as large as thoſe uſed in Europe. They are made of thick cotton cloth; the ſhell as well as the walls being compoſed of two folds of white, and one of blue cloth; which laſt is placed innermoſt; and the fly is made of the ſame materials; ſo that an officer, when in camp, enjoys the great comfort in this ſultry clime, of having ſix folds of this thick cotton cloth placed betwixt his head and the vertical rays of the ſun.

The ſoldiers tents hold each ten men with great eaſe, and have alſo two folds and a blue lining; which, after ſome rain and duſt falling upon them, become ſo thick, that under their ſhade, even in the hotteſt day, one feels comfortably cool. I have been thus particular upon the ſubject of tents, becauſe I conſider them as the greateſt luxury in an Indian army; and that of all others the leaſt to be diſpenſed with in this country. But, like the reſt of our contractors, the man who furniſhed this article ſoon began to find too great a demand for tents in proportion to his ſupplies of cloth, which induced him, inſtead of employing a greater number of weavers, to leave out one fold each from both fly and ſhell. This reduced our covering to four folds of canvas; and, in order to diſtinguiſh his tents from thoſe that were private property, they were each marked with a large B. S., the initials of his name; but which we, very often, upon hot days, conſtrued into B—ſe Sc—d—l.

Three bullocks are allotted for the carriage of each marquee, and one for that of each private tent; but thoſe of a field-officer are for the moſt part ſo large as to require a camel or an elephant to ſupport them. Two laſcars are alſo ſent to camp with each marquee, in order to pitch and give it occaſional repairs.

There is another very neceſſary eſtabliſhment to the European corps, which is two *buccalies* to each company: theſe are two large leathern bags, for holding water, flung upon the back of a bullock (each pair of which have a man to attend them), for the convenience of the ſoldiers in camp or upon the line of march. The ſepoys have alſo a few of them attached to them.

It is the quarter-maſter's duty, as in Europe, to take charge of all the public tents, bullocks and laſcars, with all the rice, &c. allotted for his regiment; for which purpoſe he is allowed the aſſiſtance of a few black ſervants, bullocks, and carts; which, with the overplus produced by the ſcanty meaſurement of the rice to the ſoldiers and ſervants of the regiment, bring him in a few emoluments: he is ſure at leaſt of having all his baggage carried free of all expenſe.

The ſurgeon, of an European corps particularly, has a great deal to attend to if he does his duty. There is delivered into his charge a ſet of doolies or ſick beds, which are a mean repreſentation of a palanquin: the number attached to a corps is in the proportion of one to every ten men, with four bearers to each. In theſe vehicles every valetudinarian of the regiment is conveyed along with the camp; thoſe whoſe caſes are the worſt being left behind in the general hoſpital, or under the care of a mate, who hires a place for their accommodation in the precincts of Madras. The ſurgeon may now and then, when one of his doolies are empty, ſhove a trunk into it. By this means, and with what is allowed him for the carriage of medicines, he generally contrives to have his baggage tranſported ſafely, and free of all expenſe.

A bazar is alſo an indiſpenſable appendage to an Eaſtern army: it conſiſts of a whole camp of ſutlers, generally provided by order of the nabob, as his people are beſt acquainted with this kind of buſineſs. They provide and ſell to the beſt advantage all the neceſſaries of life, which it would be highly inconvenient for the ſoldiers to carry about with them; ſuch as curry-ſtuffs, tobacco, rice for the ſuperfluities of the army, meat, cotton-cloth, gram for the officers' horſes; in ſhort, they furniſh out an excellent market, where one may get any thing at a certain price. Care is alſo taken by the regulator of this motley crew, that a neceſſary proportion of them accompanies every detachment that is to remain for any length of time from camp. Every thing ſold here pays a certain duty to the commander of the army, which is neceſſarily productive of very handſome emoluments, and he will therefore take care to keep the market well ſupplied, not only with the neceſſaries, but the luxuries of life. The regulator alſo receives his gratuity, as do many others ſubſervient to him; all of which, however, in the end comes out of the pocket of the poor conſumer.

The tents, and other neceſſary appointments for the camp, are no ſooner got ready than the troops aſſemble; and if the contractor or commiſſaries cannot procure a ſufficient number of bullocks to carry all the ſtores and proviſions neceſſary for the army, detachments of ſepoys are immediately ſent out to preſs coolies *, in order to ſupply their places; and, ſhould they be hard puſhed for means of conveyance, the preſs becomes as hot and general as upon the river Thames for ſeamen in time of a war: and no diſtinction is made amongſt the blacks, women as well as men being ſeized upon for this purpoſe. Even the favourite ſwamy bullocks belonging to the native merchants in the Black Town, and every palanquin boy within the verge of Madras, are brought to camp upon theſe emergencies.

When theſe arbitrary meaſures are adopted, the officers, who provide for themſelves, find it very difficult to get their private

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* People who officiate as porters, and carry their burdens on their heads.

baggage conveyed along, and which in an eaſtern camp does not conſiſt of a ſmall catalogue of neceſſaries. As rank advances in this quarter of the world ſtyle and luxury increaſe. The preparations for war here carry nothing hoſtile in their appearance, eaſe and comfort being far more ſtudied upon theſe occaſions than diſpatch, or whatever might tend moſt to facilitate the ſervice. It would be abſurd for a captain to think of taking the field without being attended by the following enormous retinue, *viz.* a dubaſh, cook and boy; and, as in theſe times bullocks are not to be had, he muſt aſſemble fifteen or twenty coolies to carry his baggage, who, with an horſe-keeper and graſs-cutter, and ſometimes a dulcinea and her ſervants, complete his train, having occaſionally the aſſiſtance of a barber, waſherman and ironer, in common with the other officers of his regiment. It might be thought improper, on ſuch an occaſion as that of taking the field, to allow the captain a palanquin; although I have known many of them permitted to enjoy this luxury at very improper ſeaſons, which of courſe muſt add nine bearers to his ſuite. His tent is furniſhed with a good large bed, mattreſs, pillows, &c. a few camp-ſtools or chairs, a folding-table, a pair of ſhades for his candles, ſix or ſeven trunks with table-equipage; his ſtock of linens (at leaſt twenty-four ſuits); ſome dozens of wine, brandy, and gin; tea, ſugar, and biſcuit; an hamper of live poultry, and his milch-goat. A private's tent for holding his ſervants and the overplus of his baggage is alſo requiſite; but this is not at the Company's expenſe. Every other neceſſary of life may be found in the public bazar. Thus every officer in the line equips himſelf according to his abilities and rank; but ſome of them are often obliged to leave the half of this trumpery behind upon the ground, for want of coolies or bullocks to carry it off.

When an officer has company to dine with him in camp he never provides plates, knives and forks, glaſſes, or chairs for them; it being the invariable cuſtom for each gueſt to ſend his ſervant thither with theſe articles, who lays them down upon the table wherever he ſees a vacant place; and diſhes for the meat are generally borrowed from the neareſt neighbours. In place of meſſing together, as in Europe, each officer keeps a cook; and in this manner entertains half a dozen friends in his turn. This is certainly a pleaſant mode of living, but not quite ſo economical as meſſing conſtantly together, which would conſiderably leſſen the number of ſervants in the field. There are few officers that are not obliged to keep an horſe on account of the exceſſive fatigue in the performance of their extraordinary duties in this country.

Apologies however are to be made for carrying ſuch an ample ſtock into the field. Here no ſupplies of any kind are to be found in the country towns through which the army marches, as in

Europe. Whenever a war breaks out the cities and villages in this quarter of the globe are inſtantly deſolated, ſo that there is no poſſibility, unleſs we enter an enemy's country, of making the ſmalleſt acquiſition, from the beginning to the end of a campaign.

Hircarrahs, or ſpies, are neceſſary attendants upon the general, of whom I have not yet ſpoken. Theſe have various means of conveying intelligence from one place to another. They moſt commonly go in diſguiſe; and their information is marked in ſmall characters upon a ſlip of paper about ſix or ſeven inches long and one broad, which is rolled up quite tight, and ſometimes put into a quill or hollow walking ſtick. It is alſo frequently carried in his turban, his noſtril, or a ſtill more ſecret place. Should the hircarrah be very cloſely ſearched, and conceives himſelf in imminent danger, he is oftentimes known to ſwallow the *chit*, as the paper is called; and if the enemy, by whom he is taken, chance to ſuſpect his having adopted this meaſure, a ſurgeon is immediately called to adminiſter ſome ſtrong purgatives; but where diſpatch is neceſſary, I have heard it ſaid that Hyder Ally makes no ſcruple of ripping up the belly of an hircarrah to get at any important intelligence. It was alleged, that an officer of diſtinction in our ſervice uſed to employ a female hircarrah, who rendered him very eſſential benefit in the courſe of his operations; but this faithful old woman would never diſcover where ſhe hid the *chit* in the hour of danger, and various were the conjectures upon this ſubject.

All the duties of advanced guards and pickets, eſcorts, and other ſervices of fatigue, are performed by the ſepoys, who are ſurpriſingly active upon their poſts, and pay the moſt implicit attention and obedience to orders, which are given in Engliſh, but afterwards explained to them in their own language. The Europeans do no other duty in camp than mounting their own quarter-guards, excepting when we are cloſe upon the enemy, leſt the heat ſhould throw too many of them into the hoſpital.

The Britiſh camp is here pitched with the ſame order and regularity as in Europe, having places at a diſtance in the rear allotted for the immenſe numbers that accompany the army, and the bazar to pitch their huts in; which laſt is diſtinguiſhed by the nabob's triangular flag flying over it; but it is merely impoſſible, for a long time after the camp has been formed, to prevent numerous herds and families of theſe wretched creatures from obſtinately lighting up their fires in every ſtreet and alley in the line; which not only ſubjects us to the greateſt confuſion, but to the moſt offenſive ſmells during the night. This in particular, when upon a march, is abſolutely intolerable; for, ſhould it happen to rain during the night, every ſervant that has been hired for the campaign thinks himſelf juſtly entitled, upon ſuch an emergency as this, to take ſhelter in his maſter's tent; which liberty they muſt be indulged in, otherwiſe they will ſoon decamp, for it is death to a black fellow to ſuffer wet or cold in the night. You may eaſily imagine then how much theſe diſguſting habits muſt blaſt all the enjoyments of life; the captain being obliged, in the midſt of all his luxuries, to repoſe in a cloſe tent, ſurrounded by twenty or thirty of theſe black miſcreants, lying compactly upon the floor in order to keep each other warm. Some are ſhivering and ſnoring, others purifying the damp ſmell of the ground with ſtill more *poignant* flavours, whilſt a few more, whoſe reſt may have been diſturbed by a fit of the cold gripes, light a piece of ſtinking tobacco, and, without the leaſt ceremony or reſpect, commence a converſation together in a kind of under-tone, which to a ſtranger ſounds as if they were deeply engaged in a quarrel. Some gentlemen, forgetting their intereſt, get ſo enraged upon theſe occaſions with the impudence and preſumption of the fellows as to diſperſe them with a ſmack of the whip; but they are frequently left in the morning to repent at leiſure of this raſh proceeding.

In addition to the ſuperabundant multitude of attendants already deſcribed, every ſepoy in the army carries with him to camp his whole family, be they ever ſo numerous, who live upon his pay and allowances of rice from the Company. This practice, when properly conſidered, is really juſtifiable in them, for an Aſiatic muſt have his wife, whatever may be his circumſtances; nor is it cuſtomary upon any occaſion for man and wife to be ſeparated. The wife ſhares the hardſhips of war with her huſband in the moſt cheerful manner, let them be ever ſo perilous, and follows him whereſoever he goes. Beſides, a ſepoy's ſtation in life is reckoned ſo far reſpectable and elevated above the common rank, that he is looked up to for ſupport and protection by all his needy relations, which he generouſly affords them to the utmoſt of his power, ſharing his all with theſe dependants, who have no other home but his barrack or tent. Yet I think methods might be deviſed for obviating in a great degree this inconvenience to the army without giving offence to the ſepoys. At any rate there is not ſo much excuſe for ſuffering all the coolies and other followers of the camp to be attended by their wives and children, which is alſo the caſe.

The cavalry next come under our conſideration. There are but few of theſe actually in the Company's ſervice; for it is the nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn who has the name of keeping them in pay. He has ſeldom upon his eſtabliſhment above four or five regiments of three hundred men each, to every corps of which are attached about one hundred infantry, with two light field-pieces dragged by horſes, and a ſet of Company's officers in the ſame manner as the ſepoys. Theſe dragoons are clothed in red, and appointed in the ſame ſtyle as our regiments of light horſe; being alſo well diſciplined, and in many reſpects little inferior to Britiſh cavalry, for they are all compoſed of high-caſt Moormen, who never fail to do their duty when treated like ſoldiers.

If at any time a regiment of them ſhould be ordered to do duty in our camp, they muſt neceſſarily bring along with them a vaſt number of attendants. Every trooper, beſides his family, has a graſs-cutter attached to him; for, as I obſerved before, the graſs is in this country dug up by the roots, being waſhed from the ſand and dried in a net; and it is a ſufficient day's work for one perſon to root out twenty-four hour's food for a ſingle horſe. Each troop is alſo furniſhed with a large copper kettle for boiling the gram or beans for the horſes, as it is reckoned unwholeſome to let them have it raw. A quantity of this grain, ſufficient to ſerve the regiment for a certain time, muſt alſo be conveyed upon bullocks, allowing each ox to carry about a month's ſtore for a ſingle horſe.

Having now given you a pretty clear idea of the manner in which an Aſiatic army is formed, we ſhall next proceed, if you pleaſe, to put it in motion.

Orders being iſſued for the army to march at four o'clock on the following morning, the officers' coolies are ſure to come the night before, at the private requeſt of the head-dubaſhes, to ſolicit for half, and ſometimes a whole month's wages in advance, declaring, though at the riſk of a good flogging, that they cannot, and will not, march without firſt having a proportion of rice and money alſo delivered out to them. The dubaſh at the ſame time inſinuates to his maſter that it is prudent for him to comply with this requeſt, leſt his baggage ſhould be left behind; pretending alſo to chide the coolies for their indiſcretion; and the officer, having no other choice left him but the loſs of his baggage, or the payment of the money, muſt of courſe yield through neceſſity to this unreaſonable demand. The dubaſh, being always the domeſtic paymaſter, deducts his own fees; for he always exacts from every ſervant under him a certain proportion of his wages; and immediately concerts another plan with the coolies, from whence further advantages may ſoon accrue to both parties. Every malecontent being at laſt ſatisfied, the heavy baggage is packed up, and all retire to reſt until the *general beat* in the morning.

The firſt ruffle is no ſooner made by the ſenior corps in camp than there is a general ſtir throughout the whole army. The laſcars knock down the tent-pins; the dubaſh prepares breakfaſt for his maſter; the cook boils water for tea; the coolies pack up their loads; the ſoldiers are warming up ſome curry and rice, and receiving their morning drams; the carriage-bullocks are brought from the rear; down fall the tents like trees in a foreſt yielding to the ſtroke of the wood-cutter. While the officers finiſh their breakfaſt ſome cold meat is packed up for the march. By this time, alſo ſwarms of the black race have kindled blazing fires in every corner of the camp; and ſuch of thoſe connexions, as had agreed the night before to keep company upon the line of march, are now heard, man, woman, and child, bellowing aloud each other's names in the moſt diſcordant ſounds. Nothing can be conceived more offenſive to the ear than this noiſe.

The aſſembly now beats off; and, breakfaſt over, the tents are packed, and upon the bullocks backs, as are the rice and other public ſtores: the baggage is alſo mounted upon the coolies' heads; the officers' foot-boys fling their brandy-bottle, a tumbler, and an earthen pot of cool water, carrying alſo a camp-ſtool or chair upon each of their heads, leſt *maſter* ſhould ſoil his ſmall clothes by ſitting upon the ground. The dubaſh and cook attend the baggage during the march; but have orders to puſh forward as ſoon as the camp is marked out, in order to get a tiffin or collation prepared by the time their maſter comes up to his tent.

The ſoldiers are by this time alſo fallen into their ranks, and all the officers attend, when the horſe-keepers are ordered to bring up their horſes to the rear of the regiment. The pickets having joined, all the drums of the army ſtrike up the march, and the whole line ſteps off, either by the right or left; the followers with the baggage being commanded to keep upon the moſt convenient flank of the army; but this laſt order is very rarely obeyed; for the baggage and multitude extend to ſuch a length and depth, that the whole line, which generally marches by files, becomes a perfect convoy; nor is it hardly ſufficient even for that purpoſe.

Whilſt the country continues open, and the enemy keep at a diſtance, the army is not much interrupted in its march; but if by accident it ſhould be obliged to paſs through a narrow defile, then commences the ſcene of general confuſion. All urge forward like ſheep ruſhing into a fold. The mob, burſting through the line in ſpite of every effort to prevent them, become at laſt a ſolid wedge from the cloſe manner in which each ſide preſſes towards the centre. Here the cattle are lamed, the carriages broken down, and the ſoldiers and coolies almoſt ſqueezed to death.

In this helpleſs predicament what can a general be ſuppoſed to do? The enemy perhaps appears both in front and rear; and that, which individuals may probably have cauſe to conſider as a misfortune, now fortunately happens. The coolies throw down their loads, and they and their families betake themſelves to the neighbouring hills and woods; firſt taking care, however, to plunder the trunks intruſted to their charge. By this means the troops are greatly relieved, ſoon finding themſelves alone, and at liberty to act. But, although they ſucceſsfully defend themſelves, and clear their paſſage through the defile, yet it is merely impoſſible to preſerve one half of the baggage, which muſt of courſe fall a ſacrifice in this ſcene of conſternation and diſtreſs.

The delays occaſioned by theſe diſaſters make it noon before the army again proceeds upon the march, when the ſun becomes perfectly vertical; and it is always at this time of the day that the enemy chuſes to haraſs Europeans, the ſun acting then as a powerful ally. We ſhall now ſuppoſe the enemy beaten off, when ſome of the followers return to their charge, though the greateſt number of theſe villains, availing themſelves of the confuſion, wait until night in the hills, when they ſteal off with their plunder to Madras, and are never heard of more.

The poor Europeans now begin to flag greatly upon the march, being miſerably ſcorched by the acute rays of the ſun, which firſt dart upon the ſand, and then revert with accumulated heat upon their faces. Notwithſtanding that each ſoldier carries a ſmall branch in his hand to fan off the myriads of flies, by which he is conſtantly tormented, yet all his exertions yield him but little relief; for the battalion is ſo much covered by thoſe inſects, particularly if the weather be at all ſultry and cloſe, that, at the diſtance of two hundred yards, one would ſuppoſe they were actually clothed in black.

It is a fortunate reſpite for the European corps, if the line ſhould by any accident halt for half an hour in the vicinity of a grove. Then the officers and men graſp at a mouthful of grog and biſcuit; but for thoſe that happen to be out of the ſhade it is as diſtreſſing as it is pleaſant to them who are under cover; for half an hour's halt in the ſun is more fatal than being two hours expoſed to it while in motion. It is therefore to be wiſhed that officers commanding detachments would conſider this, and not keep the ſoldiers for hours together upon a parade waiting the performance of a thouſand ridiculous ceremonies very immaterial to the ſervice.

I ought before to have obſerved, that in this country the European ſoldiers never carry their knapſacks upon the march, the black boys and others who cook for them in camp eaſing them of that burden. Thoſe cook-boys are amazingly attached to their maſters, and will keep cloſe to their heels in the midſt of the greateſt dangers. When they grow up they make the beſt ſepoys, for all of them ſpeak Engliſh well.

If any European recruits or young corps ſhould happen to do duty in the line, the march hardly commences before they begin to get fatigued and overcome by the intolerable heat. They ſoon exhauſt all their allowance of arrack, which is too frequently replenished by ſtagnant water, ſometimes ſo muddy, rotten, and green, that it cannot poſſibly be drank without adding at leaſt one half of ſpirits, and then it muſt be ſucked or ſtrained through a handkerchief; an expedient that in a ſhort time knocks them entirely up. It is really diſtreſſing to witneſs the ſevere ſtruggles which the poor men often have from the oppreſſion of the weather, and the numerous diſeaſes to which they are hourly ſubject. Some, from a redundancy of bile, drop down in a fit of inſenſibility, and are ſeized with a violent cholera-morbis; and indeed it is fortunate for them when this is the caſe, as otherwiſe they muſt inſtantly expire. Others fall ſuddenly down in contortions with the cramp. It runs acutely through every limb, and at laſt centers in the ſtomach, which kills the perſon afflicted upon the ſpot. But the *coup de ſoleil* is of all others the moſt fatal attack. It is in the crown of the head that this deadly blow is moſt commonly felt. The victim firſt finds his brains begin to boil, and a convulſive fit is the immediate conſequence, of which he dies in a very few minutes: and ſo very violent is the effect of this diſorder, that the body becomes quite putrid before a hole can be dug into which it may be thrown. The ſurgeons' doolies upon theſe occaſions ſoon get filled with ſick men;

thoſe who are leaſt afflicted being placed upon a gun or cart; and it is ſome time before many of them get fit for duty again, being often ſeized after theſe fatigues with the dyſentery, a lingering and loathſome diſorder, which carries off too many of our beſt ſoldiers.

It is not however ſo much to be wondered at, that Europeans ſhould be ſuch ſufferers by the climate, when even the native ſepoys are unable to withſtand the violence of the ſun, like others frequently dropping upon the line of march; but it muſt be conſidered that they always carry their knapſacks. Yet it is aſtoniſhing to ſee the immenſe loads which the coolies and other ſervants, who walk and ſtop at their pleaſure, will carry upon their heads, without being in the leaſt affected. Even boys and girls of nine and ten years of age are ſeen carrying burdens, that in our country would be thought ſufficient for full grown men.

As the army moves along, the officers oftentimes enjoy upon the road a fine chaſe after antelopes and hares, with which this country abounds. The ſoldiers of a regiment will perhaps ſtart from under their feet ten or a dozen hares in a day. They alſo meet with covies of partridge, wild-duck, and the floriken, a moſt delicious bird of the buzzard kind. Wild boars are alſo ſometimes ſurpriſed, and afford great diverſion in the line.

When the army comes within a mile or two of the ground upon which the commanding officer means to encamp, the quarter-maſter-general and quartermaſters, who are, with the tents of the army, near to the advanced guard, puſh forward, and mark out the ground, and as quickly as the tents can follow and come up they are inſtantly pitched. The commander's marquee is generally the firſt erected; the ſight of which greatly revives the drooping ſpirits of the troops: and in a ſhort time afterwards the poor ſoldiers are relieved from the exceſſive fatigues of the day, and brought under cover.

Whilſt many of the officers and men rejoice in finding their tents pitched and ready for their reception, others, more unfortunate, perceive, to their great mortification and diſappointment, that their marquees, and probably the whole of their baggage alſo, had unavoidably fallen into the enemy's hands during the ſcuffle at the defile: nor is it until now that the ſecond combination of the dubaſhes and coolies is fully diſcovered, who are by this time probably half-way back to Madras with their booty. And what adds to this misfortune is, that the Company's generoſity never extends to a reimburſement upon ſuch occaſions.

When tents are loſt an arrangement is immediately made for the accommodation of thoſe officers who had been ſo unlucky as to have theirs taken; and ſuch as are ſufferers by the villany of their ſervants have their *kits* ſpeedily replenished through the kindneſs of their brother officers. Thus, towards the end of a campaign, the ſtock of each is reduced to that proper ſize which, every thing conſidered, it ought to have been at firſt ſetting out; for I will venture to ſay that ſome detachments in America would have been glad to begin a campaign upon the fragments to be found in an Indian army after their return from an expedition.

It is always in the vicinity of ſome tank or pond that the army encamps, as running water is ſeldom to be met with in this country, except during the monſoon-ſeaſon. The cattle and naked followers no ſooner reach the camp than they plunge into the tank, in order to cleanſe and refreſh themſelves; and, after every filthy ablution is performed in it, we are forced to uſe the ſame liquid for drink and other purpoſes.

Upon theſe marches the rear-guard has a moſt diſtreſſing duty to perform. The cavalry and ſepoys are always put upon it, commanded by a field-officer; and it is ſometimes five or ſix hours, after the reſt of the line have been refreſhed and ſnug in their tents, before the rear-guard can drive all the baggage and followers of the army into camp, unleſs upon a day on which the enemy have been numerous and daring in the rear.

The firſt employment of the troops when the tents are pitched is to get ſome refreſhment, or what is called a *tiffin*, dreſſed. The cooks are immediately ſet to work upon a ſtew or haſh of cold meat, curry and rice, broiled bones or game, in different ſhapes; and though this repaſt for the moſt part begins under the appellation of a *ſnack*, it generally ends in a good hearty dinner, and a comfortable doſe of generous liquors. Some, however, prefer the ſimple curry and rice, and a baſon of good tea, which is certainly very refreſhing after much fatigue. The general and field-officers, for the moſt part, have large parties at theſe tiffins; and thoſe who are moſt liberal and luxurious upon ſuch occaſions are with us always conſidered as *the beſt officers*. Many clamorous mouths are alſo ſtopped by a good bottle of claret at the tables of the commiſſaries and agents.

The tiffin being finiſhed, every one retires to reſt; care being firſt taken, by thoſe who have had their hands and faces ſcorched by the ſun, to anoint themſelves with oil or ſpirituous liquors, leſt the ſkin ſhould crack and occaſion great pain. But, as it happens to be yet day-time, each gentleman is obliged, before he can get the leaſt repoſe, to keep two or three black ſervants ſtanding round his bed with large cow-tails and fans to keep off the flies, which, during the day, are as univerſally tormenting, as the muſquitoes are by night. I ſhould alſo have mentioned that theſe fanners attend their maſters whilſt at meals, as it would be otherwiſe impoſſible to eat or drink in comfort; for before one can carry a tumbler of grog to the mouth, in ſpite of every exertion, it will be brimful of flies. Of all others the cavalry are moſt to be pitied; for they can neither eat nor ſleep, be they ever ſo hungry and fatigued, until the ſun ſets, on account of the ſwarms of thoſe inſects that continually attend their horſes.

But what muſt you think of the diſtreſſing ſituation and ſevere duty of the field-officer of the day, and thoſe officers and ſoldiers who are ordered, before they halt, to reach the advanced guards in front and rear of the camp? Some of theſe poſts are perhaps two or three miles diſtant from the grand parade, where they muſt remain vigilant during the whole night long, expoſed after a burning ſun, moſt probably, to heavy ſhowers of cold rain in the night. It is the duty of the field-officer to ride round the camp, firſt to fix upon theſe poſts, and then to place the different guards there; having alſo to viſit all the environs of the camp two or three times during day and night, to ſee that the ſentinels are alert upon their poſts.

Now are my worthy countrymen and fellow-ſoldiers, involved in deep repoſe, tranſported, perhaps, by happy imagination to their native clime, whither it is natural to ſuppoſe the moſt ardent wiſhes of their hearts would ſooneſt lead them; and ſince in this ungenial region it ſeems impoſſible for them to participate in real pleaſures, let us leave them to indulge in pleaſant dreams, as long as the numerous plagues of this country will permit.

CAMPAIGN OF 1781.

LETTER XIV.

Madras, December 1781.

It has been a general, and I believe a juſt, obſervation—that the happineſs of the Engliſh as a nation might be both more heightened and permanent, did their ſpirits admit of greater moderation in proſperous or adverſe circumſtances; for, unhappily, ever in extremes, they are either too much elated or depreſſed by the moſt trivial occurrences.

This diſpoſition never appeared more conſpicuouſly than it did ſome time ago at Madras. From a ſtate of unmanly deſpondency, every countenance was fluſhed with joy and expectation by the appearance of Lieutenant-general Sir Eyre Coote, who had come thither from Bengal to take upon him the command of the army.

With the generality of people, unaccuſtomed to weigh cauſes with events, his very name carried with it a charm ſufficient of itſelf to effect a retrieval of our affairs.

The appearance of this officer is indeed highly pleaſing and reſpectable. Though much emaciated by a long reſidence in this enervating climate, he yet bears the air of an hardy veteran; and, though at the age of ſixty-three, cheerfully ſubmits to the unremitting duties and trying hardſhips of the field. He is alſo renowned for an intrepid ſpirit and judicious conduct; which, together with a faſcinating mien and an outward affectation of countenancing the ſepoys, are ſaid to have given him a great aſcendency over the black troops; an important accompliſhment, not eaſily to be attained by commanders in this country. This laſt indeed is the chief cauſe aſſigned for ſending General Coote to command at this critical period upon the Coromandel coaſt.

The preſervation and ſafe return to Madras of Sir Hector Munro's little army proves now to have been a moſt fortunate circumſtance for this preſidency; as without ſuch a reinforcement to his command Sir Eyre Coote would only have come hither to conduct the ſiege of Madras; it being impoſſible for him to have taken the field until an army had moved round from Bengal or Bombay, during which time Hyder Ally might have eaſily completed the conqueſt of the whole Carnatic, to the ſiege of Fort St. George.

To the detachment commanded by General Munro the reinforcement brought by Sir Eyre Coote being added, that gallant veteran found means, by his popularity and indefatigable exertions, to aſſemble at St. Thomas's Mount, in the beginning of January 1781, one of the fineſt armies that ever appeared upon the plains of the Carnatic. It conſiſted of his Majeſty's ſeventy-third regiment, then ſix hundred ſtrong; three hundred and fifty of the Bengal, and two hundred and fifty of the Madras, infantry; and about four hundred artillery from both; making in all ſixteen hundred Europeans; of ten battalions of ſepoys, of five hundred men each; four regiments of black dragoons, each two hundred mounted; and a formidable train of ſixty-two pieces of ordnance; forming, when united, a force of ſeven thouſand four hundred effective men.

After having ſettled his plan of operations for the enſuing campaign, and properly adjuſted, in Madras, meaſures for the future ſupply of the army, General Sir Eyre Coote, attended by Sir Hector Munro and Lord Macleod, began his march to the ſouthward upon the 17th of January. The firſt object was to form a junction with a large body of ſepoys collecting in the Tanjore country under

Colonel Burrows: and, as Hyder's attention was thereby attracted from the environs of Madras, an opening was left for the preſidency to be well ſupplied with proviſions. Such yet, however, were the perils attendant upon this critical juncture, that apprehenſions were hourly formed of the appearance of the French fleet upon the coaſt, in order to avail themſelves of our recent misfortunes.

The firſt exploit of the preſent expedition was performed upon the 21ſt by a detachment under Captains Davies and Moorhouſe, which left our camp upon the banks of the Palliar river, and gallantly ſtormed the fort of Carangooly, about eight miles in front of us, before the ſucceeding morning. The enemy were ſoon alarmed; and for ſome time made a reſolute defence. During the confuſion of the attack the artillery-men, who accompanied the party with a howitzer, by ſome accident miſlaid their matches; but Captain Moorhouſe, their officer, fertile in an expedient, ſeizing a piſtol, and ordering the gun to be puſhed up cloſe to the firſt gateway, by that means diſcharged it, and burſt the gate in pieces. A paſſage was now opened for the brave ſepoys to paſs the fauſſe-braye and place their ladders againſt the inner rampart, which, however, they found ſo lofty and ſteep as to render it impoſſible, after many gallant attempts, to effect their purpoſe. In the mean time Captain Moorhouſe advanced his pitard to the inner gate, under a very heavy fire of muſquetry, and ſhowers of ſtones, arrows, and combuſtibles, which however was in an inſtant thrown open. The moſt courageous of the enemy now drew up, as their laſt reſource, under their commandant, and boldly aſſailed the Company's troops in entering the gateway with ſwords and targets; but they were ſoon overpowered by the bayonet, and the fort ſurrendered at diſcretion. In this conflict about ſixty men were killed and wounded upon both ſides. Next morning the army encamped at Carangooly, where was found a great quantity of grain, part of which was delivered out to the troops.

Hyder was at this time with the principal part of his force about Arcot. Large detachments, however, from his army were inveſting the garriſons of Amboor, Vandewaſh, Vellore, and Permacoil; and great numbers of his irregular horſe and foot were continually hovering round our camp; of which number three hundred diſcontented Marratta horſemen were by ſome intrigue brought over to our ſervice at Carangooly.

The centrical ſituation of Vandewaſh, which fortunately was as yet in our poſſeſſion, and commanded by Lieutenant Flint, an officer of uncommon abilities, activity, and conduct, had attracted the attention of Hyder Ally ſo much, that his principal officer, *Meer Sahib*, had for ſome time inveſted it, and was now laying cloſe ſiege to the garriſon with a powerful train of artillery, eleven thouſand foot, and twenty-two thouſand horſe. Two approaches were carrying on towards the ſouth and weſt faces, which had by this time been advanced cloſe to the counterſcarp of the ditch.

Full nine weeks had elapſed ſince the commencement of this ſiege; and Lieutenant Flint, who judiciouſly baffled all the arts which Meer Sahib could practiſe againſt him, had in the courſe of his defence nearly expended all his ſtores and ammunition, which obliged him to ſolicit aſſiſtance from us. A garriſon was therefore left in Carangooly; and the army immediately made a movement thither.

The Miſorian general, being appriſed of our approach, had recourſe to an artful ſtratagem as his laſt endeavour to gain poſſeſſion of the place. On the ſame morning that we marched from Carangooly he ordered his whole army to decamp, and withdrew his heavy guns from all the batteries. Thus, after marching acroſs the plains of Vandewaſh, and through a large wood on the direct road towards the Britiſh army, he commenced a very hot ſham cannonade, which laſted for a conſiderable time, and immediately afterwards returned in regular columns towards the fort; on the moſt conſpicuous places round which were placed, with all imaginable pomp and ceremony, ſeveral Engliſh ſtandards taken at Baillie's defeat. This was followed by a peremptory ſummons to deliver

Vandewaſh immediately, Meer Sahib affirming that his troops had given an entire defeat to the Britiſh army, as might be ſeen by the number of Engliſh ſtandards then flying in his camp; adding, that no mercy would be ſhewn if immediate compliance was not given.

But Flint, being aware of his deſign, never let ſlip one moment of advantage; and, though much aſtoniſhed at this ſtrange and ſudden manœuvre, took the opportunity, in the abſence of the enemy, of making a ſally with all his garriſon, and completely defacing the whole of their works, which had coſt nearly three months in the erection.

Meer Sahib ſeeing this to be the reſult of his ſcheme, and finding our army cloſe upon his heels, raiſed the ſiege of this garriſon, and retreated to Arcot, denouncing vengeance againſt Flint; and leaving behind him two or three thouſand horſe and rocket-men to annoy the Britiſh troops upon their march.

The army halted a few days at Vandewaſh; and, after having ſupplied Lieutenant Flint with every neceſſary for a long ſiege, proceeded on the 28th towards Permacoil. But we had not gone two miles of the firſt day's march when Sir Eyre Coote received intelligence by an expreſs from Madras that a French ſquadron under Monſieur D'Orvè had juſt made its appearance off that place. On this alarming advice the general immediately changed the route back to Carangooly, where we waited for further information, that garriſon being centrically ſituated either for a march to Pondicherry or Madras.

During this interval Tippo Sahib poſſeſſed himſelf of one of the principal keys to the Carnatic, having opened the campaign with the ſiege of Amboor, which important garriſon ſurrendered upon terms of capitulation.

The French ſhips, fortunately for us, proved only to have come out upon a cruize of obſervation, as Sir Edward Hughes's ſquadron was at this time abſent upon the Malabar coaſt, deſtroying ſome ſhips of war which Hyder had equipped at Mangalore, and ſent out from that port to cruiſe for our traders; and it was on this account late in the ſpring before Sir Edward made his appearance to co-operate with the army.

Upon this information we proceeded ſouth to Permacoil, which was likewiſe beſieged by a conſiderable body of the enemy; but its ſtrong ſituation rendered it impregnable; and on our approach the ſiege was raiſed. Continuing our march, we arrived upon the Red hills of Pondicherry on the 5th of February, from whence we ſaw the French ſquadron, conſiſting of ſeven ſhips of war, lying at anchor in the roads.

The inhabitants of this place, had upon its reduction in 1778, ſworn allegiance to the Britiſh government; but Colonel Brathwate, who had commanded there ſince that period, had no ſooner turned his back upon them to join the main army at Madras, than they unanimouſly revolted in favour of Hyder Ally, and uſed their utmoſt exertions to arm themſelves, and collect military ſtores for the uſe of their countrymen. All this was effected chiefly by the inſtigation of Monſieur Moneron, one of the principal inhabitants, to whom the Engliſh had been uncommonly indulgent ever ſince that garriſon had fallen into their hands.

A party was immediately detached to deſtroy all the boats that could be found upon the ſhores of Pondicherry, and to ſeize what military ſtores and proviſions were concealed in the town, of both of which immenſe quantities were diſcovered. Such ſtores as were portable the general ordered to be conveyed to camp, the remainder being deſtroyed.

Hyder could hardly be ſuppoſed to remain inactive at Arcot whilſt this fleet was upon the coaſt, from which he expected very ſingular aſſiſtance. Elated with this hope, he made a forced march from Arcot; and the firſt intimation that we had of his approach was the rapid advance of his whole army in an amazing cloud of duſt about five o'clock in the evening of the 8th, within two miles of the Britiſh camp, ſeemingly with an intention to get betwixt us and Cuddalore. This place is encircled, at the diſtance of about a mile and a half, with an impenetrable bound-hedge of Palmira trees; where, if Hyder had once fixed himſelf with his immenſe army, he might have defied, during a ſiege, every effort to ſuccour the garriſon.

The drums therefore quickly beat to arms, whilſt an expreſs was ſent to Pondicherry, where General Coote at this time was ſeeing his orders put in execution, who narrowly eſcaped being taken by large bodies of irregular cavalry which had puſhed forward for the purpoſe of ſurpriſing us. The outpoſts had no ſooner joined than the Britiſh army decamped for Cuddalore, taking a road that led thither between the enemy and the coaſt.

Hyder continued his march abreaſt of us; and early in the evening a diſtant cannonade began, favoured by the moonlight, which galled us, and retarded our march ſo much, particularly in the rear, that we were at laſt obliged in our defence to open ſome guns. The rear-guard, commanded by Major James Mackenzie of the ſeventy-third regiment, was kept in one continued ſkirmiſh the whole night long; but it was ſo well conducted by that cool and ſteady officer, that little damage was ſuſtained on our ſide, while a good deal was occaſioned on that of the enemy, one of their European officers being taken with ſeveral of their men. No other attempt however was made during the whole march to diſconcert the enemy, although it was evident that whole diviſions of them might have been attacked by our line in the confuſion of their movements during the night, particularly as they were only at the diſtance of eight hundred or a thouſand yards from us, and eaſily to be diſcerned around the large fires which they kindled, not only in the track of their own line, but alſo before our advanced guard as it moved along. In this manner both parties ſtruggled hard who ſhould firſt reach Cuddalore; which point we fortunately gained at day-break in the morning, and pitched our camp under the guns of that garriſon, with a deep river running in our front betwixt us and the enemy; upon finding which they turned off at ſome diſtance to the weſt of the bound-hedge.

Upon the 10th General Coote went out beyond the bound-hedge to reconnoitre the enemy; and when he returned gave orders for the line to get under arms, and to prepare for action immediately. The general then harangued the troops, telling them ‘ That this ‘ day their labours ſhould be all at an end;’ meaning, I ſuppoſe, the labours of thoſe that might chance to get killed; ‘ for that in

‘ leſs than an hour he expected to give battle to the enemy; an ‘ event which he had long wiſhed for, and doubted not but they ‘ would all do their duty like brave men.’ The ſoldiers upon this winning ſpeech gave a grin of approbation, with leſs grace, though perhaps as much zeal, as their general; and they were now ordered to leave their tents and baggage ſtanding, and follow him to the field.

The line was accordingly marched out to the weſt ſide of the bound-hedge, and drawn up in order of battle, with the Pannar river on its right; the Bandapollam hills cloſe upon its left; and the rear placed againſt the bound-hedge of Cuddalore, in which were ſtrong redoubts at proper intervals, having an extenſive plain in front, which faced to the weſt; and thus we anxiouſly awaited the approach of the enemy. But who could have the weakneſs to ſuppoſe that Hyder Ally would be raſh enough to attack the Engliſh army in this ſtrong poſition, having every advantage on our ſide that a general could deſire! The conſequence was ſuch as might naturally have been expected. No enemy appeared excepting a few ſtraggling horſe, at whom one gun was fired, which put a period to this *bloody engagement*. We had however the ſatisfaction of boaſting at Madras—that battle had been offered to Hyder Ally (though when at ten miles diſtance), and that the challenge had been refuſed. That the ceremony might appear more formidable in the eyes of the world, the troops were kept in this poſition upon their arms for the ſpace of three complete days, expoſed to the violence of the ſun, and ſubſiſting chiefly upon cocoa-nuts, and what traſh could be picked up; after which they were permitted to return in triumph to their tents, with a conſiderable addition to the ſick-liſt.

We had now expended all the proviſions which had been brought with us from Madras; and the Council having failed in their engagements of ſending ſupplies by ſea, the army was rendered quite incapable of moving from the ſpot; and had no other reſource left but to ſcramble in the environs of Cuddalore for a miſerable and uncertain ſubſiſtence. It being vain in this diſtreſſed ſituation to think of moving into the country, or proceeding further to the ſouthward, until the arrival of our fleet upon the coaſt, and till the intentions of the French ſquadron were properly aſcertained, the general determined to remain at Cuddalore until Sir Edward Hughes ſhould make his appearance.

For this reaſon we lay here in a ſtate of inactivity, from the middle of February until the end of June; during which interval the army dwindled inconceivably. The rapidity with which Hyder at this time penetrated the country, our own ſevere and ſucceſſive misfortunes, joined to our now being pent up within the bound-hedge of Cuddalore, all conſpired to impreſs the minds of the ſoldiers with melancholy and deſpondent ideas. Deſertion and ſickneſs therefore very conſiderably prevailed: and ſuch was the languor which now pervaded the whole camp, that the neceſſary functions of duty were performed in the moſt negligent and liſtleſs manner. Frequent detachments were made to collect cattle and proviſions, and to ſurpriſe parties of the enemy who lurked about the camp; but they ſeldom proved ſucceſsful, although attended with immenſe fatigue to both officers and men. Some ſeaſonable reinforcements however from Tillicherry and the ſouthward at this time joined us by ſea, which ſerved in ſome meaſure to replace the loſſes we had ſuſtained by ſickneſs; but when neceſſity at laſt obliged us to move we ſtill laboured under almoſt inſurmountable difficulties.

Such was the deep deſpair in which the army was involved by our preſent diſaſtrous ſituation, that, had the French ſquadron made the ſmalleſt exertion, or only cruized off Cuddalore for the ſpace of one week, we muſt inevitably have laid down our arms to them without ſtriking a blow; an event which would have been ſtill more fatal to the Company than the unfortunate and diſgraceful convention at Wargam. Happily for us, however, the ſquadron quitted the coaſt without offering the ſmalleſt moleſtation.

About the middle of May, Major-general Stuart, of whoſe ſervices the army had long been deprived, having been tried and honourably acquitted of every charge adduced againſt him, by a general court-martial at Madras, joined us by ſea. The advantages to be derived from his abilities as an officer were, however, counterbalanced by a ſubſequent loſs. Some miſunderſtanding ariſing betwixt General Stuart and Lord M'Leod concerning priority of rank, it was determined by the commander in chief in favour of the former; in conſequence of which his lordſhip, not being inclined to ſerve under General Stuart, got permiſſion to withdraw himſelf from the army, which was by this means deprived of the animating example and brilliant exertions of a prudent and experienced officer.

Such was now the ſituation of the army that it appeared an indiſpenſable duty in Sir Eyre Coote to attempt ſome enterpriſe; to which end he was warmly urged by General Munro and other officers, as well to ſilence public clamour as to prevent us from ſtarving. -

At this period Hyder was in the Tanjore country, committing every devaſtation which he could deviſe; and, with a large detachment of his army, had laid ſiege to Tiagar, an hill fort about twenty miles weſt of Cuddalore, which at laſt became the firſt object of our long-wiſhed-for movement from that place. General Coote now ſtrained every nerve in attempting the relief of that fort, which was upon the point of ſurrendering; but we had only proceeded one day's march to the village of Trivady, when every effort failed us; and we were obliged to return by the ſame track to our former ſtation at Cuddalore; in conſequence of which Tiagar ſoon capitulated. The vigilance of General Stuart, who that day commanded in the rear, could not prevent a great quantity of baggage, both public and private, from falling into the enemy's hands.

This unexpected retreat encouraged Tippo Sahib, ſome days afterwards, to form a general attack upon all our outpoſts at Cuddalore; in the execution of which, however, the enemy were ſeverely handled and ſmartly repulſed.

The next attempt of the Britiſh army was againſt the fortified pagoda of Chillumbrum, fifteen miles ſouth of us, which had been amongſt the firſt of Hyder Ally's conqueſts in the Carnatic, and was at preſent well ſtored with grain. Upon the 18th of June we marched from Cuddalore, and reached that place with great difficulty, when a formidable aſſault was immediately made upon it by Sir Eyre Coote in perſon, much in the ſame manner as Carangooly was carried. But the garriſon being upon their guard made a very gallant defence, and obliged us, after a continued fire for ten hours, both from muſquetry and great guns, to abandon the attempt.

This attack was carried on in the night. A large body of ſepoys was ordered to ſurround the place on every ſide, and to keep up a heavy fire of muſquetry upon the ramparts, whilſt another party ſhould enter the pettah to attack the gateways, which were well flanked by modern baſtions, and lined with reſolute troops, who had, upon the approach of the Britiſh army, thrown up a large mound of earth againſt the inner gate, and cut a ditch acroſs the outſide, which rendered it totally impaſſable. A daring attempt was however made by our troops, who, quite ignorant of the dangers with which they had to encounter, gallantly carried the firſt gateway under an inceſſant diſcharge from great guns and muſquetry, which the enemy clearly ſaw how to direct with certain execution, from the light of blue fire-balls that were conſtantly thrown in the air for that purpoſe, and which greatly dazzled the eyes of our men. The Britiſh had no ſooner brought up a twelve-pounder, to uſe as a pitard within a ſmall ſquare facing the inner gate, than the enemy threw down upon them ſuch heaps of ſtones, wooden logs, and burning combuſtibles, at the ſame time ſupporting a dreadful fire of muſquetry and arrows, that our men, no longer able to maintain their ground, were obliged to abandon the gun, and make a precipitate retreat. The enemy were encouraged by this to make a ſally, and purſue them ſword in hand; but theſe were ſpeedily repulſed by the line of ſepoys poſted as a reſerve.

During this conflict, all the Indian females belonging to the garriſon were collected at the ſummit of the higheſt pagoda, ſinging in a loud and melodious chorus hallelujahs, or ſongs of exhortation, to their people below, which inſpired the enemy with a kind of frantic enthuſiaſm. This, even in the heat of the attack, had a romantic and pleaſing effect, the muſical ſounds being diſtinctly heard at a conſiderable diſtance by the aſſailants.

The general, who made a narrow eſcape from a cannon-ball that broke the leg of Lieutenant Young, upon whoſe ſhoulder he then leaned, finding it impoſſible to ſucceed by this mode of aſſault, drew off his troops towards morning, after having ſuſtained the loſs of a braſs twelve-pounder, eight officers, and nearly two hundred and fifty men killed and wounded.

Our failure in this attempt incited Sir Eyre to commence a ſerious attack upon the fortreſs of Chillumbrum. To achieve ſomething was neceſſary, as well to check the preſumption of the enemy as to raiſe the drooping ſpirits of our army. The exultation of the former indeed was unbounded; they now conſidered themſelves as invincible againſt a force ſo inferior as ours, and anticipated with confidence its total annihilation. How blind is human foreſight! How incapable is human reaſon to form immutable concluſions from the link by which we hold of the chain of future events? Our recent defeat, which ſeriouſly affected the deſpondent minds of all, was deſtined to prove, in the hands of a benignant Providence, the very means from whence future ſucceſſes were to ſpring.

Hyder Ally's black commandant at Chillumbrum, intoxicated by the dawn of proſperity that had ſhone upon his arms, wrote a preſſing letter to that chief, urging him in the ſtrongeſt terms to haſten down from Trichinopoly, and give a total defeat to the Britiſh; alleging that he had ſtruck them with ſuch a panic, and deſtroyed ſo many of their troops, that they were totally incapable of oppoſing a force ſo ſuperior as his.

It being conſidered neceſſary by General Coote, before his ſecond deſign againſt Chillumbrum could be carried into execution, to procure battering cannon from Sir Edward Hughes's ſquadron, which had juſt then arrived at Porto Nova, about ſix miles diſtant from us, he accordingly for that purpoſe moved thither with the whole army: but our camp was no ſooner pitched at Porto Nova than we found ourſelves inſtantly ſurrounded by the whole Miſore army, as if it had been really actuated by magical power.

Hyder, it ſeems, fluſhed by the flattering intelligence received from Chillumbrum, made a forced march from Shamavram in the Tanjore country; and, advancing with his horſe at the incredible pace of ninety miles in one day, completely hemmed the Britiſh army nearly into an equilateral triangle, formed by his camp, the ſea, and Porto Nova river. All thoughts of the attack upon Chillumbrum were neceſſarily for the preſent laid aſide, our attention being now ſolely directed to the means of extricating ourſelves from this perilous and gloomy ſituation.

The ground which the enemy had occupied was entirely compoſed of ſand hills, and deep nullahs, interſecting each other; and on every commanding hillock large maſqued batteries were expeditiouſly conſtructed; ſo that Hyder, having in this manner unexpectedly entrapped us, could not but flatter himſelf with the moſt advantageous conſequences. We, on the other hand, ſince chance had thus conducted us into a ſituation ſo pregnant with danger, and made a deciſive battle inevitable, determined that our valour ſhould render this as memorable in the annals of Britain as the battle of Platea is in thoſe of ancient Greece.

Preparations were made on both ſides for the important event; Hyder conſtantly ſending large bodies of cavalry to reconnoitre our camp, and keep the out-poſts to their arms, at the ſame time taking care to poſſeſs himſelf of every advantageous ſpot; and information was hourly brought to us of new batteries having been conſtructed.

The General, now perceiving that every moment of time waſted by us added to the ſtrength of the enemy, at once determined to ſend his heavy baggage and other incumbrances on board the fleet, that the troops might move more lightly; and that night the order of the battle, and other arrangements, were iſſued to the army with great preciſion.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 1ſt of July, our line was put in motion, and at the ſame time the enemy were ſeen arranging in battle array an army conſiſting of fifty thouſand choſen horſe, thirty thouſand regular infantry, forty-ſeven field-pieces in addition to the guns of their batteries, two troops of French huſſars, and a battalion of European renegadoes, beſides irregular allies compoſed of different petty princes; forming altogether a force computed at a hundred thouſand fighting men.

When our army, which conſiſted of nearly eight thouſand effectives, had filed off from the right, and advanced about a mile into a large plain, it was formed into two lines. The firſt, under the command of Major-General Sir Hector Munro, was compoſed of three regiments of Europeans, ſix battalions of ſepoys, one European troop, and two regiments of black dragoons, with thirty pieces of cannon. The ſecond, led by Major-General Stuart, was compoſed of four battalions of ſepoys, and twenty-ſix field-pieces. One battalion of ſepoys, two regiments of cavalry, with ſix guns and three hundred Marratta horſe, were allotted for the baggage guard.

The Britiſh troops were firſt menaced by a chain of Hyder's irregular horſe, who appeared immediately in our front as a blind for their maſqued batteries; by whom innumerable quantities of rockets were thrown, and alſo ſome ſhot. This induced the Britiſh line to advance towards them without heſitation, exchanging a few random ſhot in their progreſs: but as we approached towards them they gradually retired, and at length ſuddenly diſappeared behind the woods and ſand-banks in their rear, at once unveiling to us ſix large maſqued batteries of ſix or ten guns each; from which, however, no ſhot was yet fired. Upon this diſcovery the army made a halt until the ground ſhould be cloſely reconnoitred, when it was judged inconſiſtent with prudence to advance any further in front. Our line was therefore ordered to file off to the right, which the enemy no ſooner perceived than all their batteries made a furious opening and galled us unmercifully, particularly one upon our left flank, the firſt diſcharge from which killed twelve men, and enfiladed both lines.

Having at length cleared the range of theſe batteries, we kept a long ſand-hill betwixt us and the enemy's line, which had by this time quitted its former ſtation, and now moved at ſome diſtance in a parallel line with us. In the centre of this ſand-hill there appeared a narrow paſs, through which our firſt line bent its courſe and formed upon a plain on the other ſide, but not without ſuffering ſeverely from the Miſorian line of infantry and guns drawn up directly in our front, behind a range of low ſand-hills and buſhes, from whence they fired warmly into the paſs.

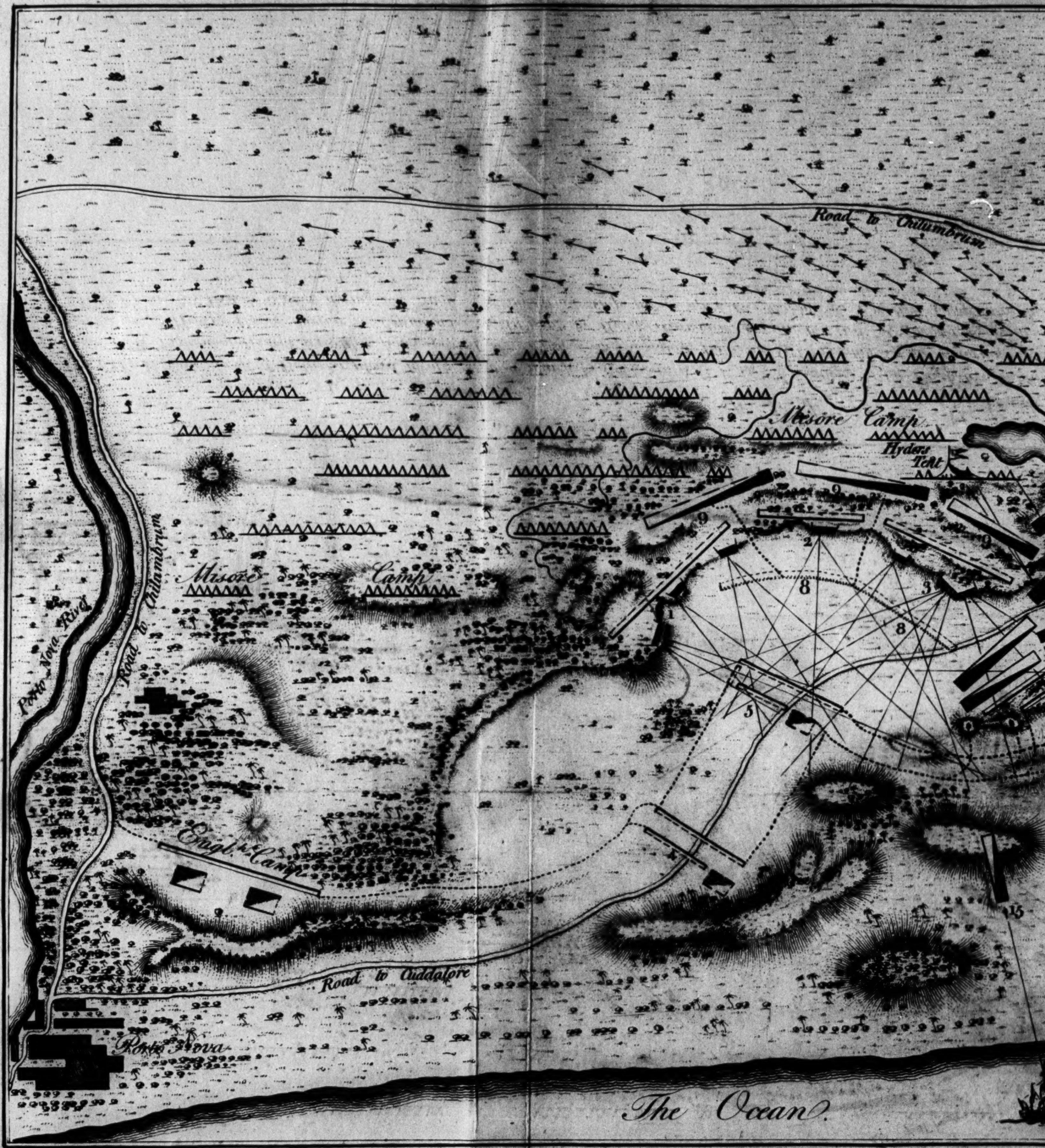
By this time there was alſo a bloody conteſt betwixt a large body of the enemy's grenadiers and horſe under Monſieur Lally, and our ſecond line under General Stuart, for the poſſeſſion of the hill upon our left flank; which, from the ſteady and gallant behaviour of Captains Muirhead and Stewart, with the 17th and 20th battalions of ſepoys, was at laſt gained by the point of the bayonet. Captain Moorhouſe, an expert artillery officer, actually melted a braſs ſix pounder in the diſcharge of grape upon this reſolute diviſion of the enemy, which three times retired and as often repeated a furious but ineffectual attack. The baggage was afterwards attempted by the ſame party with as little effect, this ſecond repulſe of which ſeemed to give a fortunate turn to the fate of the day.

During this tough encounter on the left, the firſt line, led by General Munro, was far from being idle. It had now got completely formed upon the plain; and Hyder, having drawn up all his guns and infantry, ſupported by large ſquadrons of cavalry, upon the low hills in our front, about ten o'clock a dreadful cannonade commenced on all quarters, and continued without intermiſſion until three in the afternoon. It was in this interval that the Britiſh army ſuſtained its greateſt loſs. The General was for a conſiderable time undetermined whether or not he ſhould advance the line to cloſe action. At this criſis Sir Hector Munro politely urged the General to make a briſk and immediate attack upon the enemy's guns, as the only means of gaining a deciſive advantage; and this ſalutary advice not being ſpeedily adopted, Sir Hector added, 'That, if he was not rightly underſtood, he would 'communicate his opinion in writing.' Soon after this one of Sir Eyre Coote's aids-du-camp advanced to Sir Hector, then at ſome diſtance upon the right of the line, and told him that the General, ſenſible of the importance of his advice, determined to purſue it, and had now given orders for the line to advance. But by this time the undaunted ſteadineſs of the Britiſh troops, and the

ſuperior

BATTLE of PORTO

Gained by 8,000 British Troops under Lt. Gl. Sir Eyre Coote over 100,000 Misorians un
The English had 60 Field Pieces The Enemy 35 heavy



Road to Chilumbrum
Misore Camp
Hyders Tent
9
9
9
2
8
3
8
1
5
4
15
Porto Nova River
Road to Chilumbrum
Misore Camp
Engl. Camp
Road to Cuddalore
Porto Nova
The Ocean

Innes Munro del.

REFERENCE

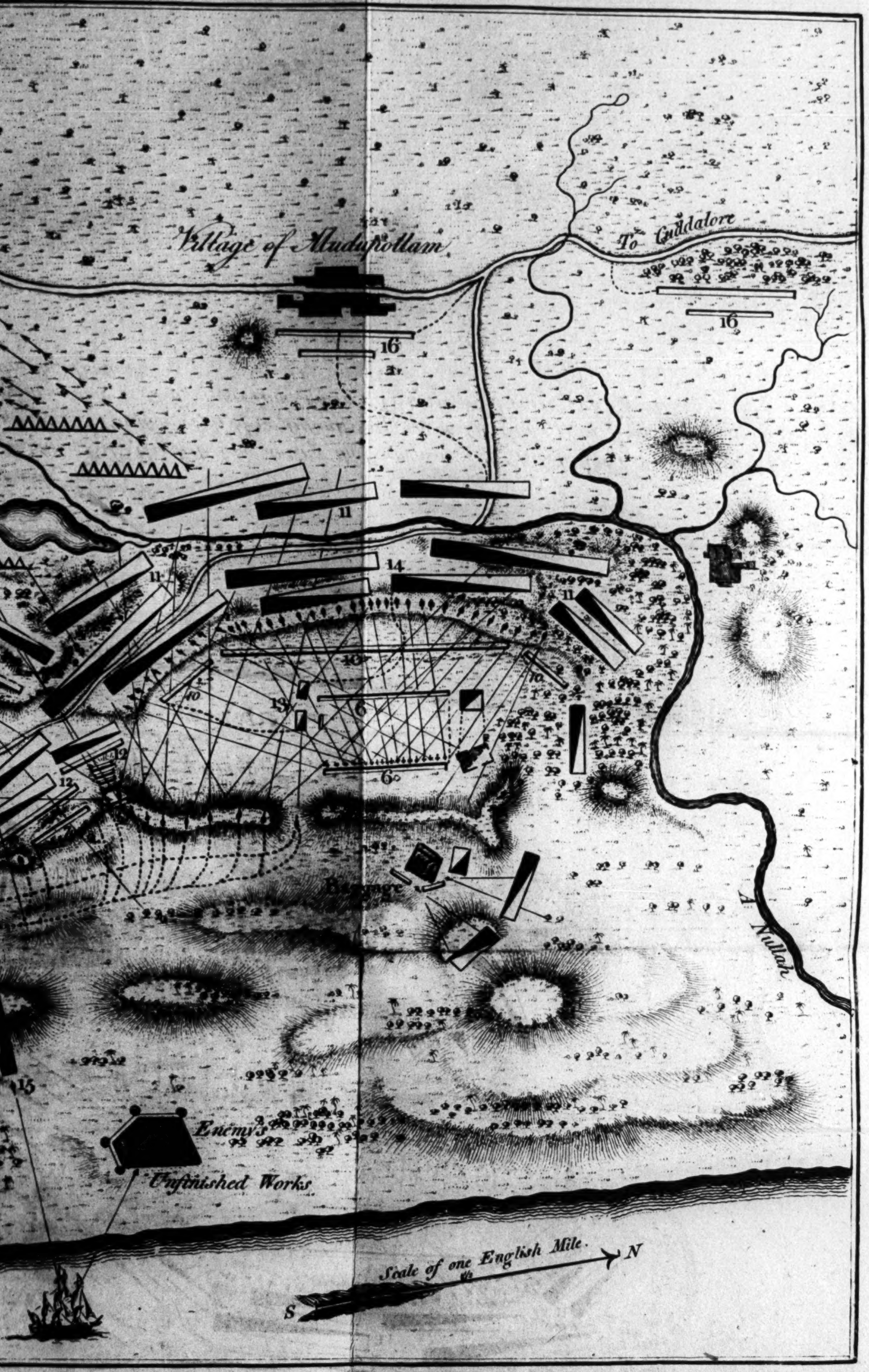
1.2.3. *The Enemy's Masqued Batteries, placed to oppose our March to Cuddalore.* 4.5. *1st & 2nd positions of the English advancing.*
-nonade. 8. *A Chain of Hyders irregular horse posted as a decoy to the Masqued Batteries.* 9. *1st Position of the Misorians.* 10. 2
11. *Position of Hyders Horse during ye Cannonade.* 12. *Attempt by Hyder's Grenadiers to gain the Hill.* 13. *Attempt by Kiram Sa*
of the Enemy. 14. *Hyder's Station during the Action.* 15. *An Armd Ship firing upon the Enemy.* 16. *English Camp after the E*

Published as the Act directs, March 31st 1789.

O NOVA

ns under the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn the 1st July 1781

heavy Guns & 45 Field Pieces.


Village of Mudupollam
To Cuddalore
16
16
11
11
14
11
6
6
13
10
12
Baggage
Nullah
15
Enemy's
Unfinished Works
Scale of one English Mile
S
N

Woodman & Mutlow sculp.

E S.

ancing. 6 1st English Line during the Cannonade. 7. 2nd English Line during the Can-
. 10. 2nd Position of Hyders Infantry, over whom his Guns fired from the sand banks
ram Sahib to Charge our Line where he & most of ye party were killed. ⟶ Retreat
the Battle.

ſuperior excellence of our artillery, had viſibly much ſlackened the enemy's fire, and thrown their ranks into diſorder. This advantage however we could but ſlowly improve, as large ſquadrons of horſe now hovered from flank to flank under the gallant Meer Sahib, with an intent, if poſſible, to break the Britiſh line, but at leaſt to keep it at bay whilſt the enemy ſhould accompliſh the retreat of their guns. In this important ſervice Meer Sahib fell; but, as is the invariable cuſtom with the Mahomedans, his body was inſtantly ſwept away by his followers, though within two hundred yards of our front. The better to facilitate the removal of their guns, a line of infantry, far outflanking ours, was poſted in a deep furrow fronting us, that ſtood with an appearance of reſolution until the Britiſh line came within two hundred yards of it; but, becoming panic-ſtruck upon our approach, the whole body gave way with a general diſcharge of muſquetry from right to left, which however occaſioned little damage. Our ſoldiers deſpiſed taking a muſquet from their ſhoulders to return this paltry fire; but our guns, being then loaded with grape-ſhot, poured it in amongſt the fugitives without mercy or intermiſſion; and, having the ſand-hills to aſcend before they could be ſcreened from our view, great numbers of them fell. Continuing the purſuit, we reached the ſummit of the ſand-hills, where, being ſtopped by a deep nullah from advancing any farther, a few more ſhots put an end to the carnage and fatigues of the day, with the loſs on our ſide of ſeventeen European and twenty black officers, beſides fifty Europeans and five hundred ſepoys killed and wounded.

Hyder had many of his principal officers amongſt the number of the wounded and ſlain. In that of the latter, as I have already obſerved, was Meer Sahib, one of his braveſt partiſans; the man who had made the firſt impreſſion upon Baillie's unfortunate detachment, who had conducted the ſiege of Vandewaſh, and was captain-general of his horſe. At leaſt four thouſand Miſorians were ſaid to have fallen on the plains of Porto Nova; but it is difficult upon ſuch an occaſion exactly to aſcertain the numbers, it being a religious maxim with the Mahomedans to carry off as many as poſſible of their ſlain. Monſieur Lally was wounded; and a Portugueſe officer came over to us during the heat of the action.

Hyder and his army reached Chillumbrum before they once entertained a thought of rallying. It is impoſſible to deſcribe to you the awful magnificence of the ſcene that our army beheld from the heights upon which it halted. The ſpace, as far as the eye could reach, was entirely covered by multitudes of horſe, foot, artillery, and heaps of baggage, all intermingled in the greateſt confuſion, flying in the utmoſt conſternation, galloping acroſs each other over an extenſive plain, and raiſing ſuch clouds of duſt as almoſt to obſcure the ſky. The departing rays of the ſetting ſun added greatly to the grandeur of this ſplendid ſcene. Upon the concluſion of this hard-conteſted buſineſs, how mortifying was it to find that no other advantage had been gained by us after ſuch extreme fatigue, than the ſimple poſſeſſion of the field?—a compenſation very inadequate to the loſs of ſo many gallant ſoldiers. This might have been one of the moſt glorious and deciſive victories ever obtained, had the General permitted the line to advance at an earlier period of the day. There cannot be a doubt but it would have finally terminated the war, as moſt of the enemy's guns muſt have inevitably fallen into our hands; for it was with the utmoſt difficulty they got them reconveyed acroſs the nullah during the purſuit; a labour in which, by Meer Sahib's gallantry, and our own tardineſs, they were ſingularly favoured. It was alſo a matter of ſurpriſe to many in the army that the Britiſh cavalry were not ordered to purſue the fugitives, there being, with Marrattas and others, a thouſand in the camp—a number that might have done conſiderable execution againſt a flying enemy if properly conducted, particularly as they had eight light three-pounders dragged by horſes conſtantly attached to them.

As ſoon as the wounded could be collected together, and the dead interred, our army croſſed the nullah, which was in many places ſo filled with ſlaughtered enemies, that our ſoldiers could not avoid trampling upon their bodies as they paſſed, and in others ſo deep that they were up to the middle in water. We lay that night on its oppoſite banks, and next morning encamped upon the road leading to Cuddalore, where a *feu de joy* was fired, and the General's thanks delivered to the army.

It was to us an animating idea that Sir Edward Hughes's ſquadron witneſſed the whole of this action. They dropped down abreaſt of us, and all the maſts and yards in the fleet were covered with ſeamen, who in anxious expectation awaited the event. One of the ſmall armed veſſels came ſo very near the ſhore as to fire with good effect upon the body of the enemy's horſe that attempted the baggage.

It might be thought unpardonable in me, were I to omit mentioning the manner in which Sir Eyre Coote was pleaſed to diſtinguiſh the ſteadineſs of the ſeventy-third regiment in this battle. His Excellency ſeemed upon all occaſions to have a predilection for the Highlanders, (if we may form ſuch a concluſion from his generally taking poſt by them in the heat of action;) notwithſtanding he exclaimed againſt more being ſent to India. But the old general's motives for this were very admiſſible. He naturally ſuppoſed the tranſition too great from the cold of fifty-ſeven to the inſufferable heat of thirteen degrees and an half north, which certainly carries much reaſon with it when duly conſidered.

The General, being in the rear of our regiment as the line advanced to action under a very heavy fire, fixed his eye upon the bagpiper, who ſtalked from right to left with aſtoniſhing compoſure, playing a favourite Highland march, as if the fate of the battle depended entirely upon his exertions: "Well done, my brave "fellow!" exclaimed the veteran, "you ſhall have a ſilver pipe "when this battle is over." And accordingly his Excellency preſented the regiment with one hundred pagodas to purchaſe an handſome pipe in honour of that day.

Upon the 4th the army proceeded to Cuddalore, where many of the wounded were left, and where we were joined by ſome convaleſcents, that had been lodged there when we marched to Chillumbrum.

It is poſſible that matters would not have terminated ſo favourably for us, had not Tippo Sahib been abſent, during the recent arduous ſtruggle, in the north, with a conſiderable body of the Miſore troops upon an expedition againſt Vandewaſh, intending afterwards to intercept the Bengal detachment under Colonel

Pierce, which was now daily expected, and had almoſt completed a march towards us, little ſhort of that made by the ten thouſand under Xenophon. But, from innumerable impediments, and a ſuperfluous degree of luxury and pomp ſupported upon their march, they approached very ſlowly; and General Sir Eyre Coote, perceiving that Hyder meant to avail himſelf of their delay, thought it his duty as ſpeedily as poſſible to prevent the chance of a repetition of Baillie's fatal diſaſter. He therefore began an expeditious march to the northward, followed at a diſtance by the vanquiſhed army of the enemy, and arrived at St. Thomas's Mount about the end of July. Both parties having now drawn nearer to each other, they were ordered to make a reciprocal movement; and, happily for the fate of the Carnatic, formed a junction near Pollicat, upon the 3d of Auguſt, without the leaſt oppoſition from Hyder or his ſon; both of whom remained during this tranſaction uncommonly inactive at Congeveram.

This union augmented our force to twelve thouſand men, and brought to us an excellent ſupply of draught and carriage bullocks. After having returned to St. Thomas's Mount, the army was formed into five brigades of infantry and one of cavalry. All the Europeans, commanded by Colonel James Crawford of the ſeventy-third regiment, compoſed the firſt brigade, the ſtation of which was generally in the centre of the line. The other four brigades conſiſting of ſepoy infantry were under Lieutenant-colonels Elphinſton, Owen, Edmonſton, and Blair; and the brigade of cavalry was led by Colonel Coſby; General Munro preſiding over the right wing, and Colonel Pierce over the left. Two parks of artillery were alſo formed, one upon each flank of the European brigade; the Bengal being poſted upon the right under Colonel Elliot; and the Madras artillery upon the left, under Major Mackay, beſides two guns and an officer attached to each battalion in the line, and two light field-pieces, dragged by horſes, to each regiment of dragoons. Such was the general order of battle, which, however, was frequently changed as occaſion required.

Here the whole army, but our regiment in particular, had ſerious cauſe of regret, in the death of Major James M'Kenzie of the ſeventy-third, an officer of a benevolent character and approved merit. His ſteadineſs in the field, and exemplary attention to the honourable diſcharge of his duty, were highly worthy of admiration; and it was in conſequence of his exertions in the early part of this campaign that he was thus brought to his grave.

Since it had been hitherto found impracticable for thoſe detachments, collecting in the Tanjore country, to join General Coote with ſafety, orders were now ſent to draw them together as a party of obſervation for the defence of that diſtrict; and having by various reinforcements become a formidable body of about five thouſand men, Colonel Brathwate was ſent thither from the preſidency to command them; and they ſhall henceforth be diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the *ſouthern army*.

Whilſt we had thus been ſtruggling through ſuch difficulties to the ſouthward, freſh troubles of no leſs magnitude were prepared for our encounter upon our return to the preſidency; for, in the month of June 1781, a fleet of the Company's ſhips arrived ſafely at Madras, in one of which Lord Macartney came out with the appointment of governor of this ſettlement, having poſitive directions from the Company to commence hoſtilities againſt the Dutch without a moment's delay.

As our enemies increaſed, it was incumbent upon us to redouble our vigilance, and baniſh diſſention. Bengal, which had hitherto ſuccoured us with occaſional aids, was now forced to abandon the protection of the Carnatic, being unable, without weakening that ſettlement in a great degree, to lend any further aſſiſtance to this; the Marratta war, which ſtill raged with violence upon the other coaſt, requiring every exertion that could be made by the preſidencies both of Bengal and Bombay. Our ſupplies of rice and money became therefore ſo trivial at this unhappy juncture, that nothing leſs than actual famine ſtared us full in the face. To alleviate ſuch calamities, and at the ſame time divert the attention of our enemies, ſeemed to require the utmoſt exertions both of deliberation and activity.

The firſt ſtep of Lord Macartney, after his arrival at Madras, was to iſſue orders for all the Britiſh garriſons, contiguous to the moſt inconſiderable of the Dutch factories, to attack and poſſeſs themſelves of them with diſpatch; which order was punctually executed, much to the advantage of thoſe who made lucrative acquiſitions their principal aim.

The main army, during theſe operations, was making every preparation for a march to the ſiege of Arcot, and the relief of Vellore, whilſt the enemy ſhould retain freſh in their memory the traces of their panic and defeat at Porto Nova. For this purpoſe the troops, furniſhed with only eight day's rice, began their march thither upon the 16th of Auguſt. On the 20th they took fort Trippaſore, that at the commencement of hoſtilities had fallen into the enemy's hands, and in which was found a ſeaſonable ſupply of paddy, that was immediately iſſued out to the troops.

Hyder, whoſe army was then encamped at Congeveram, being ſpeedily apprized of our intentions, muſtered up ſufficient courage to diſpute the roads with us, which, being cloſe and woody, greatly favoured his deſign.

As the Britiſh army advanced, his irregulars took every opportunity of obſtructing its march; and, on the 27th of Auguſt, exactly upon the ſame grounds where Colonel Baillie had been defeated, he appeared, in full force, ſtrongly poſted behind the woods and village of Polliloore. Inflamed by the dictates of a blind ſuperſtition, he entertained the vain idea that this was a lucky ſpot; and, under the influence of this ſuggeſtion, confident that victory would again declare for him upon ground conſecrated by former ſucceſs, he was encouraged to hazard a ſecond general engagement.

The enemy's poſition was firſt announced to us by ſome guns unexpectedly opening upon our advanced guard. The fire from them was ſoon increaſed into a very hot cannonade, under which our line was irregularly formed upon broken grounds, every where interſected by deep nullahs. A front had no ſooner been preſented, though in a manner haſty and confuſed, to the guns of the enemy in one direction, than freſh batteries were opened from other quarters, upon both flanks and rear, by which means the line became divided and detached. The fourth brigade, under Colonel Pierce, was formed in a poſition to oppoſe the fire of our left flank; at the ſame time, the reſt of the line, under Sir Hector Munro, changed front twice; firſt to the right and then to the left, under a very hot fire; whilſt the ſecond brigade, led by Colonel Edmonſton, was ordered to attack the village of Polliloore, then oppoſite to our right flank.

General Munro having, in the laſt manœuvre, formed his diviſion in a parallel with the avenue deſcribed in the account of Colonel Baillie's defeat, he received orders to make a movement to the right; which he remarked, and many of the officers then round him thought, might be an hazardous enterpriſe, as by it his communication with the line would probably be cut off. This order he notwithſtanding prepared immediately to execute; but at the ſame time recommended it to the General to make, in preference, a rapid advance to the village, and poſſeſs himſelf of the enemy's guns, the fire of which was attended with great execution. To this Sir Eyre made rather an haſty and unpremeditated reply; but as Sir Hector, in obedience to the will of the General, was in the act of putting his diviſion in motion, he received a freſh order to advance to the village, as he himſelf had at firſt propoſed; a meaſure that was attended with immediate ſucceſs.

The enemy being, by theſe manœuvres, at length diſlodged from every ſtrong poſition on their left, Colonel Owen received directions to move with four battalions from our right wing to aſſiſt thoſe upon our left in throwing the enemy's right flank into confuſion; which, with a few more evolutions of the firſt line, attended with an incredible ſhare of fatigue, ſoon put the whole to flight, and finiſhed the action at ſun-ſet.

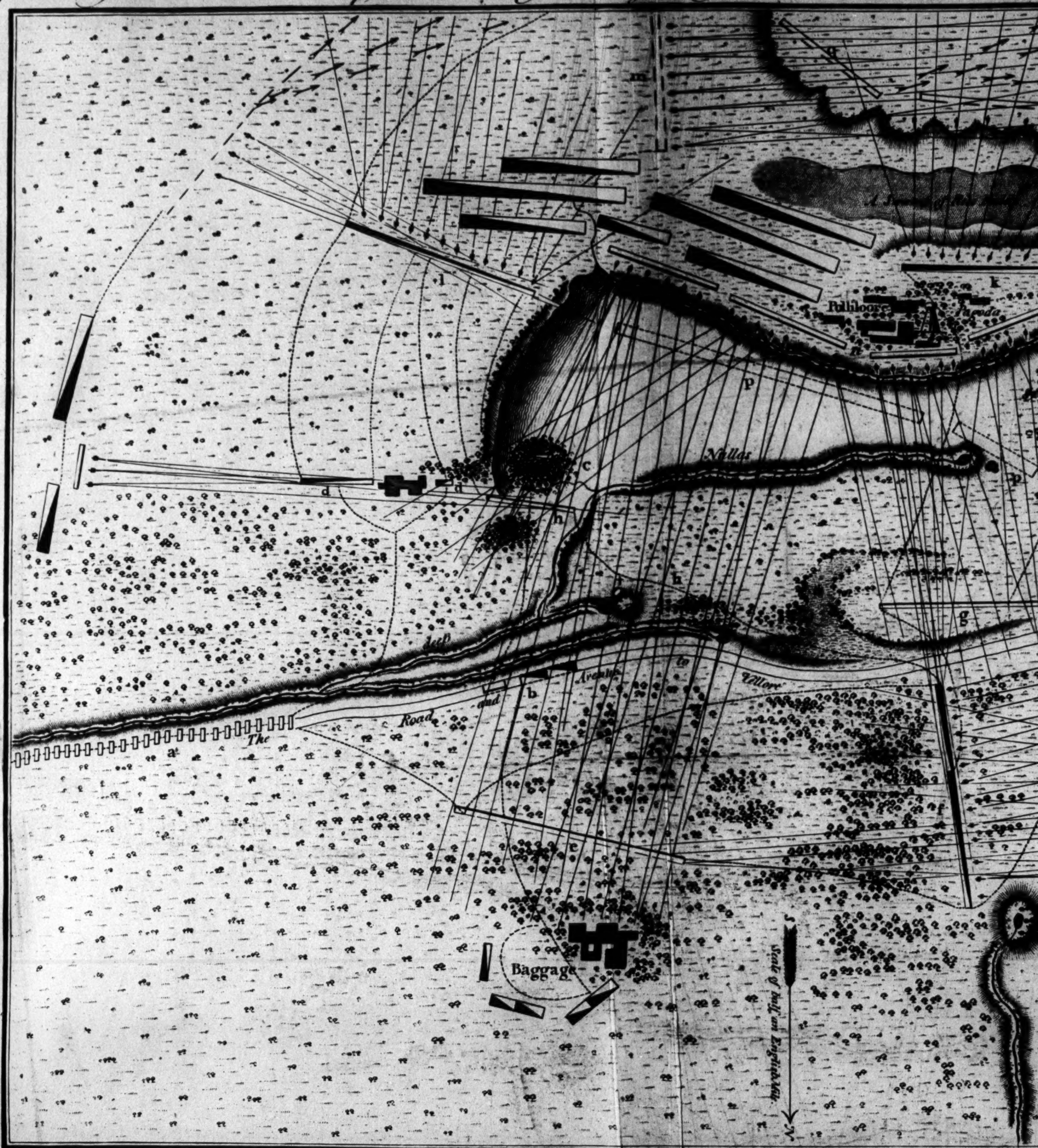
This day was, at one period, nearly exhibiting a ſcene deeply fatal to the Britiſh intereſts in the Carnatic. Such was the diſorder which prevailed through our whole army, that it frequently appeared upon the verge of annihilation, and from which the kind intervention of a gracious Providence ſeemed alone to reſcue it. The exceſſive irregularity of the field of battle, which was interſected by broken grounds, deep nullahs, and impenetrable jungle, divided the battalions ſo much that they could not in any one place act in contact with each other, whilſt the enemy's fire did ſuch rapid execution amongſt our men, as to throw ſome corps into confuſed and ſeparate cluſters. Thus each divided member was left in a manner to act for itſelf independent of the whole; a circumſtance that, in the uncertain fate of battle, where ſucceſs is only to be attained by uniformity of action, and the neceſſary dependance of one part upon another, is likely to produce the moſt diſaſtrous effects. From theſe, however, we were happily ſaved, the fortune of the day, towards its concluſion, having taken for us a favourable turn.

Perhaps there come not within the wide range of human imagination ſcenes more affecting, or circumſtances more touching, than many of our army had that day to witneſs and to bear. On the very ſpot where they ſtood lay ſtrewed amongſt their feet the relics of their deareſt fellow-ſoldiers and friends, who, near twelve

months

BATTLE OF POLLIL

Gained by 11,000 British Troops, under Lt. G.l Sir Eyre Coote; over 146,000 Misorians,


m
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Polliloore
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deep
The
Road
and
Avenue
to
Vellore
a
b
e
Baggage
Scale of half an English Mile

Innes Munro del.

REFERENCES

a. *The English Army upon their March in the morning.* b. *Advanced Guard fired upon, take possession of the Grove* c. d. *Col.l Pierces first position*
the Left. i. *2.nd Brigade advances upon the Village of Polliloore.* k. *Right Wing advances beyond the Village joined by the 2.nd Brigade, to Canno*
Enemy, and his Camp that night. n. *Hyders Station & Command during the Action.* o. *Tippoo Corps.* ⟶ *Retreat of the Enemy.* p. *the English Cam*

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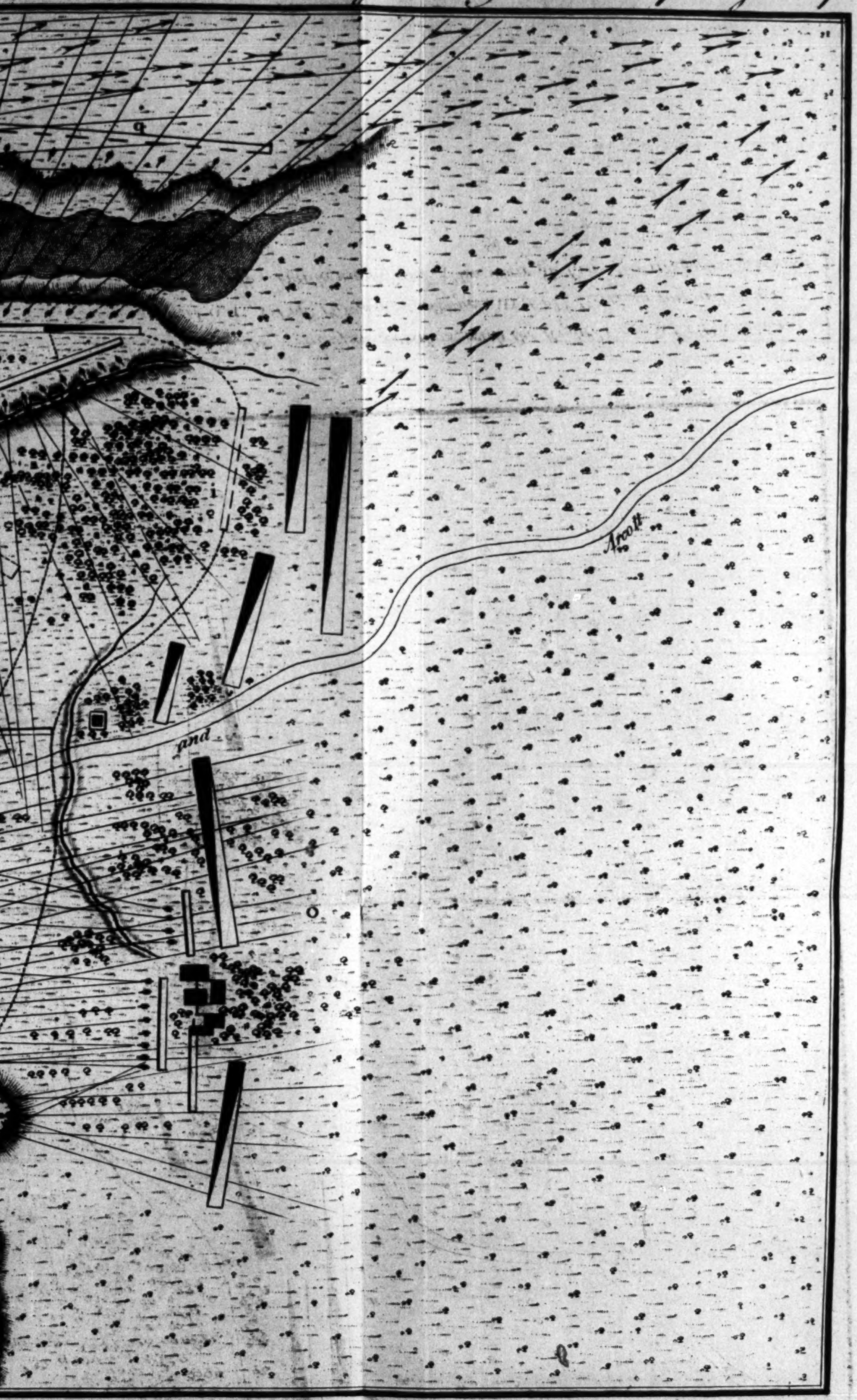
LOORE.

s, under the Nabob Hyder Ally_Cawn, 27th August, 1781.



Woodman & Mutlow sculp.

n . e, f, & g, *Gen.l Munro's three succeſsive positions, with the Right Wing.* h. *L.t C.l Owen's March to*
nonade the Fugitives at q.q. l, *Col.l Pierces first advance.* m, *Col.l Pierce in pursuit of the*
mp that night. ∗ *Place where Col.l Baillie was defeated.* † *Tree where Sir Eyre Coote reconoitred the Enemy.*

months before, had been ſlain by the hands of thoſe very inhuman monſters that now appeared a ſecond time eager to complete the work of blood. One poor ſoldier, with the tear of affection gliſtening in his eye, picked up the decaying ſpatterdaſh of his valued brother, with the name yet entire upon it, which the tinge of blood and effect of weather had kindly ſpared!—Another diſcovered the club or plaited hair of his boſom friend, which he himſelf had helped to form, and knew by the tie and ſtill remaining colour!—A third mournfully recogniſed the feather which had decorated the cap of his inſeparable companion! The ſcattered clothes and wings of the ſeventy-third's flank companies were every where perceptible, as alſo their helmets and ſculls, both of which bore the marks of many furrowed cuts. Theſe horrid ſpectacles, too melancholy to dwell upon, while they melted the hardeſt hearts, inflamed our ſoldiers with an enthuſiaſm and thirſt of revenge, ſuch as render men invincible; but their ardour was neceſſarily checked by the involved ſituation of the army.

That night the Britiſh forces encamped upon the field of battle, which was the only pretenſion we had to term this a victory. A *feu de joie* was, however, fired by both armies, as neither was willing to yield to the other the laurel of the day. Sir Eyre Coote returned his thanks to the troops, and to Sir Hector Munro in particular for his judicious recommendation of the ſpirited attack of the village.

The loſs of the enemy, from their practice of carrying off their killed and wounded, as formerly remarked, it is always impoſſible to aſcertain. On our ſide it conſiſted of ſix European officers killed, and ſeven wounded. Amongſt the former were Colonel Brown and Captain Hiſlop, both deſervedly regretted; in the number of the latter was Major-general Stuart, who unfortunately loſt his leg in the beginning of the action. Five hundred ſepoys and native officers, and ſeventy-four European privates, were alſo killed and wounded.

After two days halt on this ground, proviſions became ſo ſcarce that we were forced to *fall back* (a delicate appellation given by ſome people to a *retreat*) to Trippaſore for freſh ſupplies; to which place twelve days additional rice was ſent to us from Madras, that we might again proceed towards our intended deſtination, but by another route.

The health of Sir Hector Munro having been for ſome time upon the decline, in conſequence of a long reſidence in this climate, and the exceſſive fatigues to which the arduous buſineſs of the campaign had neceſſarily ſubjected him, when the army returned to Trippaſore he obtained leave from Sir Eyre Coote to depart for Europe, which was accompanied by a letter from that veteran, expreſſive of his regret at loſing the ſervices of ſo experienced an officer at a time of ſuch incumbent peril and requiſite exertion.

Upon the 19th of September, the army again made a movement towards Vellore, purſuing a route cloſe to the Pollicat and Sholangur mountains, which protected our right flank and baggage for the greateſt part of the way.

Hyder, far from being diſmayed by the recent diſcomfiture, was now deſirous of trying his utmoſt force at the paſs of Sholangur; where, having taken every neceſſary precaution, he again waited our approach in battle array. He ſeemed fully determined to make every oppoſition to the relief of Vellore, which was unremittingly inveſted by ſtrong detachments of his forces, who by this time had not only erected batteries againſt it with ſome ſucceſs, but alſo ſtormed and taken poſſeſſion of one of the hill-forts, from which however they had been quickly diſlodged by a briſk ſally from the garriſon.

Hyder's camp was pitched upon a very gentle declivity, with ſtrong grounds and a tank of water in his front; his left flank being poſted under the Sholangur hills.

The Britiſh army having advanced within a few miles of its adverſary, encamped with its right flank covered by the ſame hills, and in a parallel ſituation with the enemy's line; which was, however, completely ſeparated from ours by a long range of low rocks, which ran down from the mountain of Sholangur betwixt the two armies.

Early in the morning of the 27th of September Sir Eyre Coote, with the ſecond brigade and ſome cavalry, advanced to theſe rocks, and reconnoitred the enemy's camp, which he found ſtill pitched, though their forces were forming in order of battle, and large bodies of horſe ſeemed already advancing upon our left. The General upon this inſtantly diſpatched orders to Colonel James Crawford, then ſecond in command, to bring up the Britiſh army exactly in front. This order was very expeditiouſly obeyed, by advancing from the right of brigades until they came within view of the enemy, when a ſingle line was again formed, the troops having afterwards marched by files from the right until a large tank of water covered that flank.

Hyder was this day ſo confident of victory, and affected ſuch contempt for our force, that he left his camp ſtanding in the rear, and boldly advanced his line into the hollow and unoccupied grounds between the two armies. The principal part of his horſe compoſed the left wing under Tippo Sahib; on the right ſtood his grenadiers under Monſ. Lally; and in the centre he commanded in perſon.

A briſk cannonade began on both ſides, which was on our part very warmly kept up; while the ſecond brigade from our right, commanded by Colonel Edmonſton, joined by the flank companies of the ſeventy-third regiment, and all the cavalry with their light guns, crept round the tank unobſerved, and fell ſuddenly with all their fire upon the camp and left flank of the enemy; the reſt of the army at the ſame inſtant advancing, and ſupporting a warm diſcharge of ſhot and grape, which threw the infantry and cavalry of that wing into confuſion. Hyder, perceiving this, ordered Tippo to rally his horſe, and try an experiment of the ſame kind upon the left of our line; in which attempt, however, they were ſo warmly received by the Britiſh artillery as to have their whole army thrown into general diſorder, upon which Hyder thought it full time to draw off his guns. As a laſt effort, however, he was reſolved to try what a deſperate body of about a thouſand horſemen could do, who had ſolemnly vowed upon the Alcoran to take the firſt favourable opportunity of breaking through the Engliſh line, and had that day been completely intoxicated with bang and opium, in order to excite a falſe courage for the execution of their deſperate enterpriſe. Theſe now received poſitive orders to charge; and with determined fury they advanced upon the thirteenth regiment of Bengal, and the ſeventeenth, eighteenth, and twenty-firſt battalions of Madras black troops, ſtationed upon our left; but thoſe ſepoys being well diſciplined, and commanded by undaunted veterans, reſerved their fire, with a degree of coolneſs highly worthy of admiration and applauſe, until the aſſailing horſe were within fifty yards of them, when they delivered a well levelled volley with fatal execution. The horſemen, however, forced their way through the intervals; but ſo far were they from breaking the battalions, that the latter went quickly to the right about, and gave the enemy a ſecond fire in the rear, which cauſed them to pay a bloody price for their temerity.

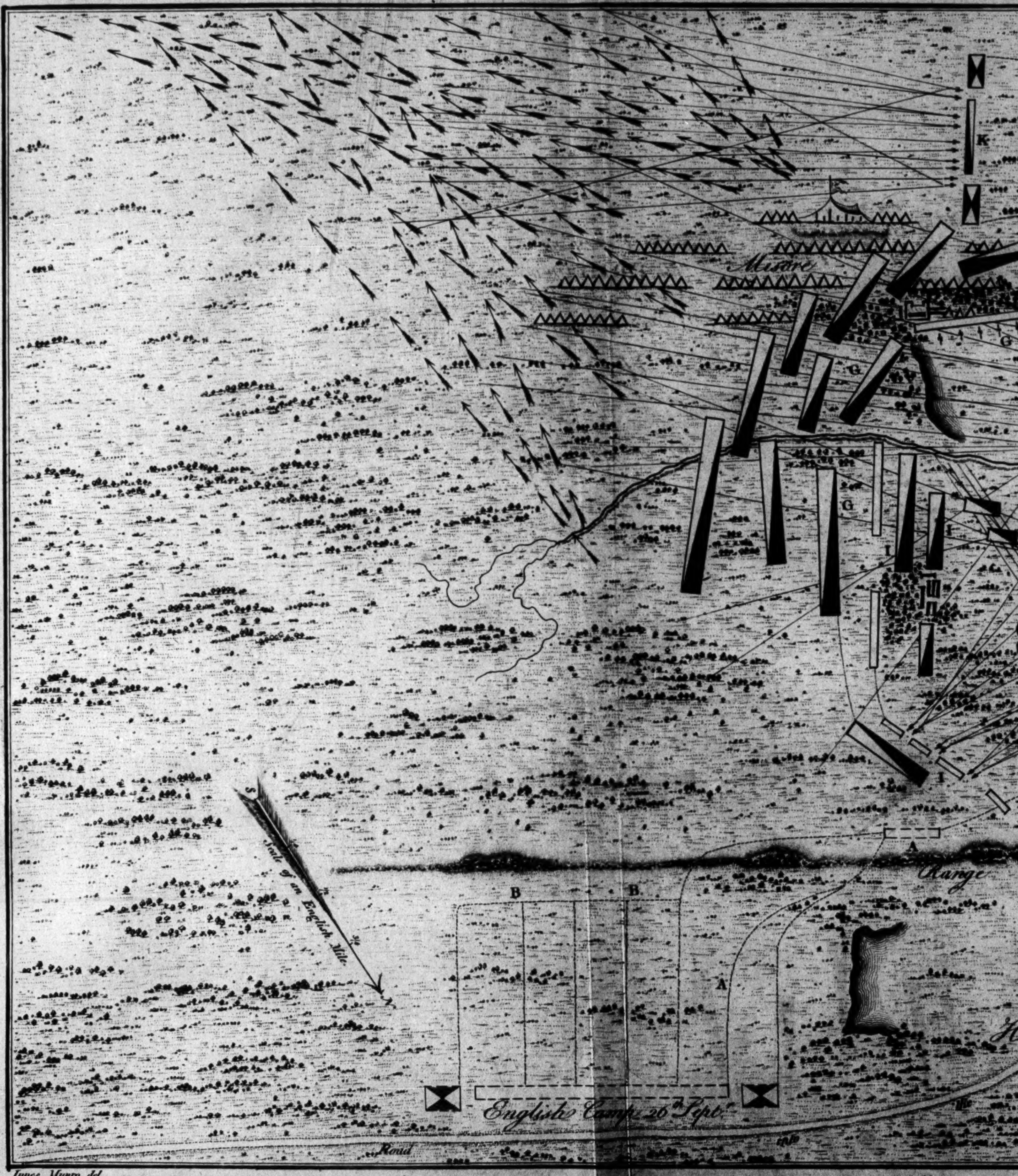
By this time all the enemy's guns, excepting one, which fell into our hands, were entirely drawn off, and his line completely routed; the ſecond brigade, and cavalry of the Britiſh, continuing the purſuit till ſun-ſet, which put an end to the action. It was computed that the enemy had upwards of two thouſand men and horſes killed and wounded on that day. Ours, not exceeding one hundred, officers and men included, was but a trifling loſs.

One cannot, upon reflection, but ſeriouſly lament the unfortunate check which was invariably given to the ardour of General Coote in all his exploits. He never was once provided with a ſufficient quantity of proviſions to render any one action deciſive; for a victory was no ſooner gained than he was forced to retire to Madras for a freſh ſupply of grain; a neceſſity which rendered battles fruitleſs, and the ſucceſsful ſupport of a war impoſſible.

After

BATTLE OF SHOLA

Gained by 11,000 British Troops under Lt. Gl. Sir Eyre Coote over 143,000 Misor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Scale of an English Mile
English Camp 26th Sept.
Road

Innes Munro del.

REFERENC

A.A. *Rout & position taken by the 2d Brigade in the Morning:* B.B. *March of the Army advancing from the Ground of Encampment.* C.C. *Fi*
-cing irregularly & the 2nd Brigade gaining upon the Enemy's left Flank & obliging them to abandon all their strong posts. E.E.F
the 13. Regt. 17. 18. & 21st Batn. of Sepoys were charged by the Enemy's Cavalry. G.G.G.G. *The Enemy's Grand Line of Infantry & Ca*
Enemy with Guns who began the Attack. I.I.I. *Tippo's Corps Charging the Line & Cannonading our left Flank & Baggage.*

Publish'd as the Act directs March 5th 1789.

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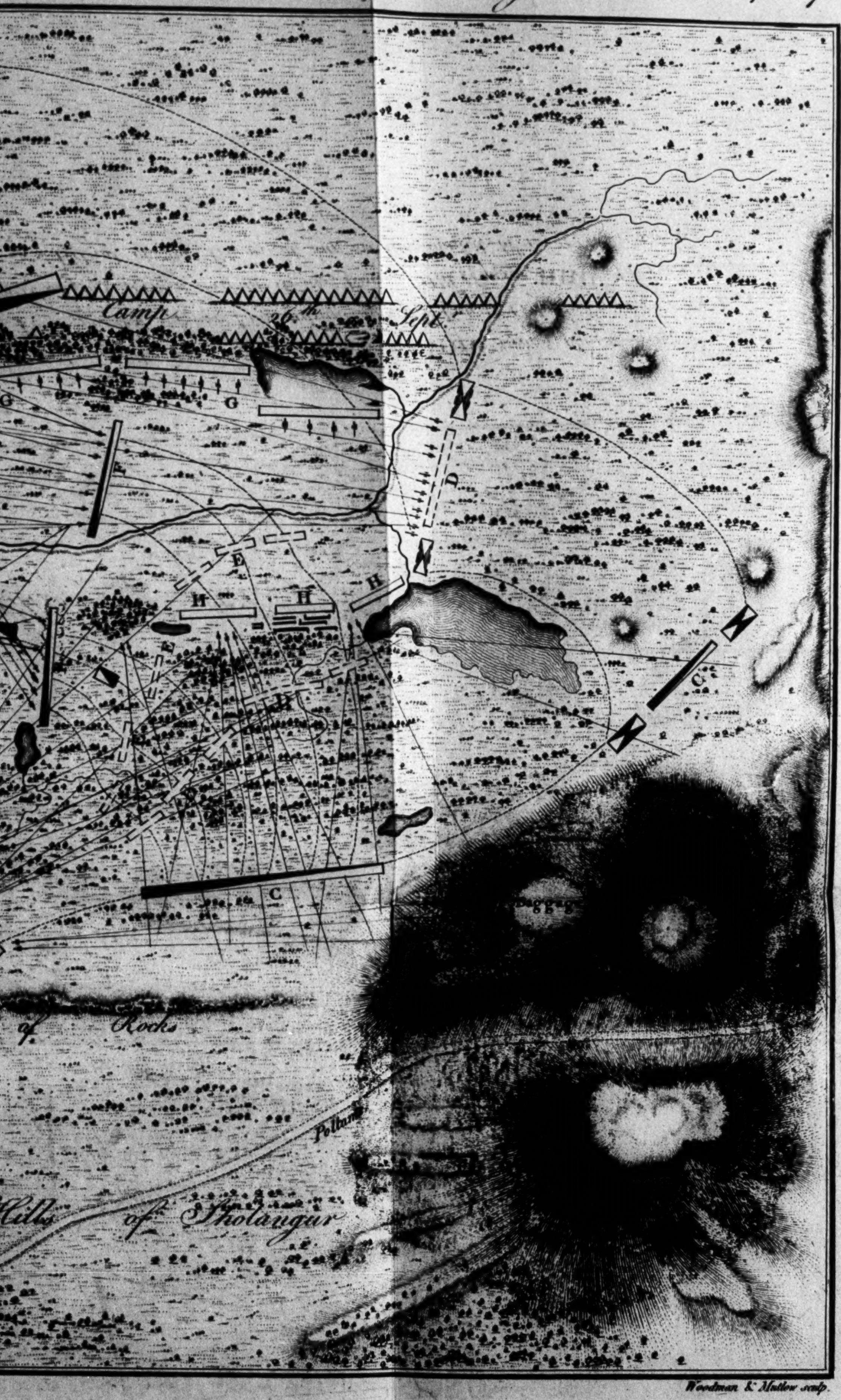
ANGUR.

orians under the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn on 27th Sept.r 1781.


Camp 26th Sept.
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G
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C
Baggage
of Rocks
Pollam
Hills of Sholangur

Woodman & Mutlow sculp.

E S.

irst position of the Army when form'd for Action. D.D.D. Second poſition of the Line advan-
E. Third position of our Line advancing. F.F.F. Fourth & laſt poſition of the Line after
avalry as first formed behind Woods, Rocks, & Old Houses, H.H.H. Advanced Corps of the
. ⟶ Retreat of the Enemy at sun set Cannonaded by the 2.nd Brigade. K.

After the battle of Sholangur, his ſituation was truly deplorable, for he was now poſitively denied any further ſuccour from Madras, which was itſelf reduced to ſuch extremities at this unfortunate period, as to be incapable of furniſhing ſupport to the inhabitants of the ſettlement. In this deſperate ſtate the fortitude and perſeverance of General Coote ſhone moſt conſpicuouſly. To ſuch an extremity had matters come, that a rumour prevailed of part of the army being diſbanded that the reſt might be kept up. But Sir Eyre, having made a friend of Bum-Raze, one of the Bollar or Highland princes in our neighbourhood, and perceiving that the ſepoys, ſo far from wiſhing to change their ſituation, were happy in this opportunity of proving their fidelity to the Company, and attachment to their commander, determined, until a change of fortune, to wander through the Pollams, under the auſpices of this rajah, in queſt of a daily ſubſiſtence, and to truſt to Providence for the relief and protection of Vellore.

Under theſe circumſtances of diſtreſs did the Britiſh army, guided by Bum-Raze, with only *one day's rice*, begin its march on the 1ſt of October through the Sholangur-paſs; the ſecond brigade being poſted there as a guard: and, after a fatiguing march of two days amongſt the hills, pitched its camp at Attamancherry, a village ſurrounded by incomparable natural beauties. This country is guarded from the rapine of barbarous enemies by inacceſſible mountains and truly pictureſque hills, that are every where adorned with a variety of beautiful ſhrubs, and the humble cottages of the Polligars, an independent and happy race of people; whoſe habitations are more remarkable for their romantic ſituation than magnificence of ſtructure. Here, by the aſſiſtance of our only friend Bum-Raze, and our own aſſiduity, we lived in plenty and tranquillity for the ſpace of ſeveral days; but, upon the 12th of the month, intelligence was haſtily brought to the General, that about ſix thouſand of the enemy's horſe and foot had entered the Pollams by a ſecret paſs, and had begun, with their uſual rapine and barbarity, to plunder the villages and maſſacre the inhabitants. Sir Eyre inſtantly marched at the head of three battalions of ſepoys, and all the cavalry; and, after ſupporting a ſhare of fatigue, which at his years entitles him to admiration, completely ſurpriſed the whole of this party in their camp, in which were taken all their proviſions, ſaddles, ſwords, and forty horſes.

As ſoon as a ſufficient portion of rice could be collected for the relief of the immediate diſtreſſes of Vellore, a large detachment, under Colonel Owen, conſiſting of one hundred European grenadiers, five battalions of ſepoys, a regiment of cavalry, with two ſix-pounders and eight cavalry guns, was ordered to advance before the army, and take poſt at the paſs of Veracundaloore, ſituated about twenty miles in front of us, in order to protect the

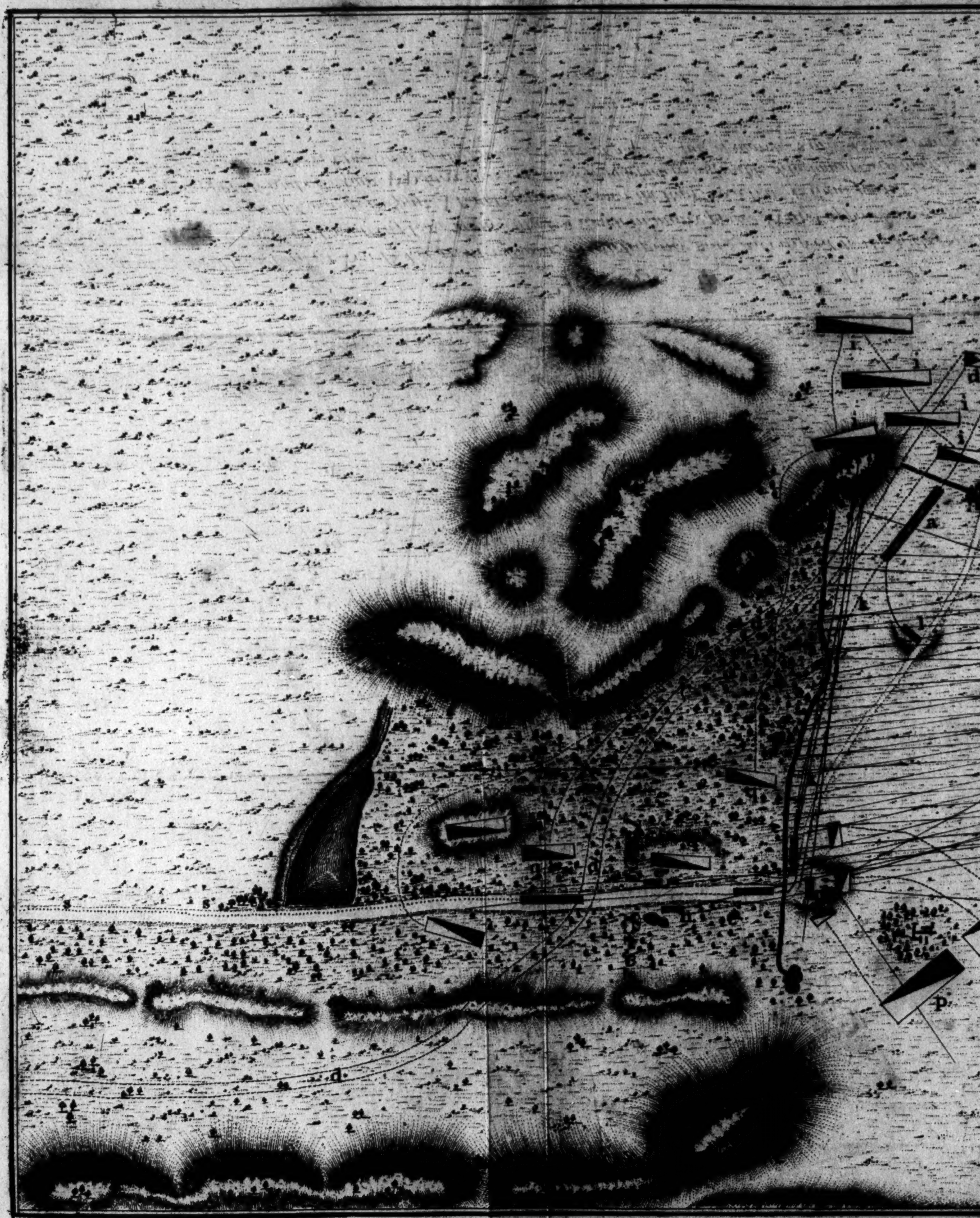
Polligars, and others who endeavoured to throw ſome grain into the garriſon of Vellore, as well as to diſtreſs the enemy, by blocking up their ſupplies of proviſions, which uſually came that way from the fort of Chittore to their camp then upon Timory Plains, about thirty miles diſtant from this paſs.

But Colonel Owen had not remained long here before Hyder began to feel the great inconvenience of his ſituation; and who, by a maſterly *coup de main*, ſoon made him alter his poſition; for, having made a forced march with his whole army, the Miſore general unexpectedly reached Owen's camp on the 23d of October, before the ſmalleſt intimation could be received of his approach. It was with difficulty that our troops could ſnatch up their arms and form the line, before they were beſet upon all quarters by horſe, foot, and artillery. As no time could be ſpared for ſtriking the tents, they, with the baggage, were deſignedly ſet on fire; and the chief object of conteſt was firſt to gain the poſſeſſion of the paſs betwixt Colonel Owen and our main army, which was now little more than one mile diſtant. Detachments were made from both parties with the greateſt celerity for this purpoſe, but fortunately effected by ours, which ſoon brought on a cloſe and general engagement. Though preſſed and charged upon both flanks and rear, our troops ſtood with undaunted courage, until at laſt one attack, more furious than the reſt, unfortunately took off one of our guns, and diſperſed the battalion of ſepoys that had charge of it. But this diſaſter no ſooner reached the ears of the European grenadiers under Captain Moore, than they, with the twenty-firſt battalion of ſepoys, made a revengeful daſh to the rear, by which they not only recovered the gun, but, with their fire and bayonets, gallantly laid one hundred and fifty of the enemy dead upon the ſpot. By this the reſt of the ſepoys were much encouraged; and they having now got entirely within the defile, and cloſe to the main army, which had upon the firſt alarm moved to Colonel Owen's ſupport, Hyder thought it in vain to continue the purſuit, and accordingly drew off his troops, much diſguſted at his diſappointment, for he had made himſelf ſure of cutting off this detachment. Colonel Owen ſoon afterwards joined the main army, which encamped that evening at the village of Madowaddy, from whence a detachment was ſent to bury the dead, which, with the wounded, amounted to three hundred rank and file, and ſeventeen European and native officers.

I cannot here help making the remark, that Colonel Owen had ſufficient influence at *head-quarters* to procure ample compenſation to his officers for the loſs of their baggage upon this occaſion, although thoſe who ſuſtained an equal loſs under General Munro at Congeveram ſtill remain neglected. No circumſtances are ſo likely to depreſs the ſpirit of a ſoldier as an unjuſt preference and groundleſs partiality. Theſe a prudent general will avoid, and a liberal maſter will deſpiſe.—But to return to my detail:

Upon

Position of the Detachment under Lieu^t Col^l Owen when attacked by the Nabob Hy

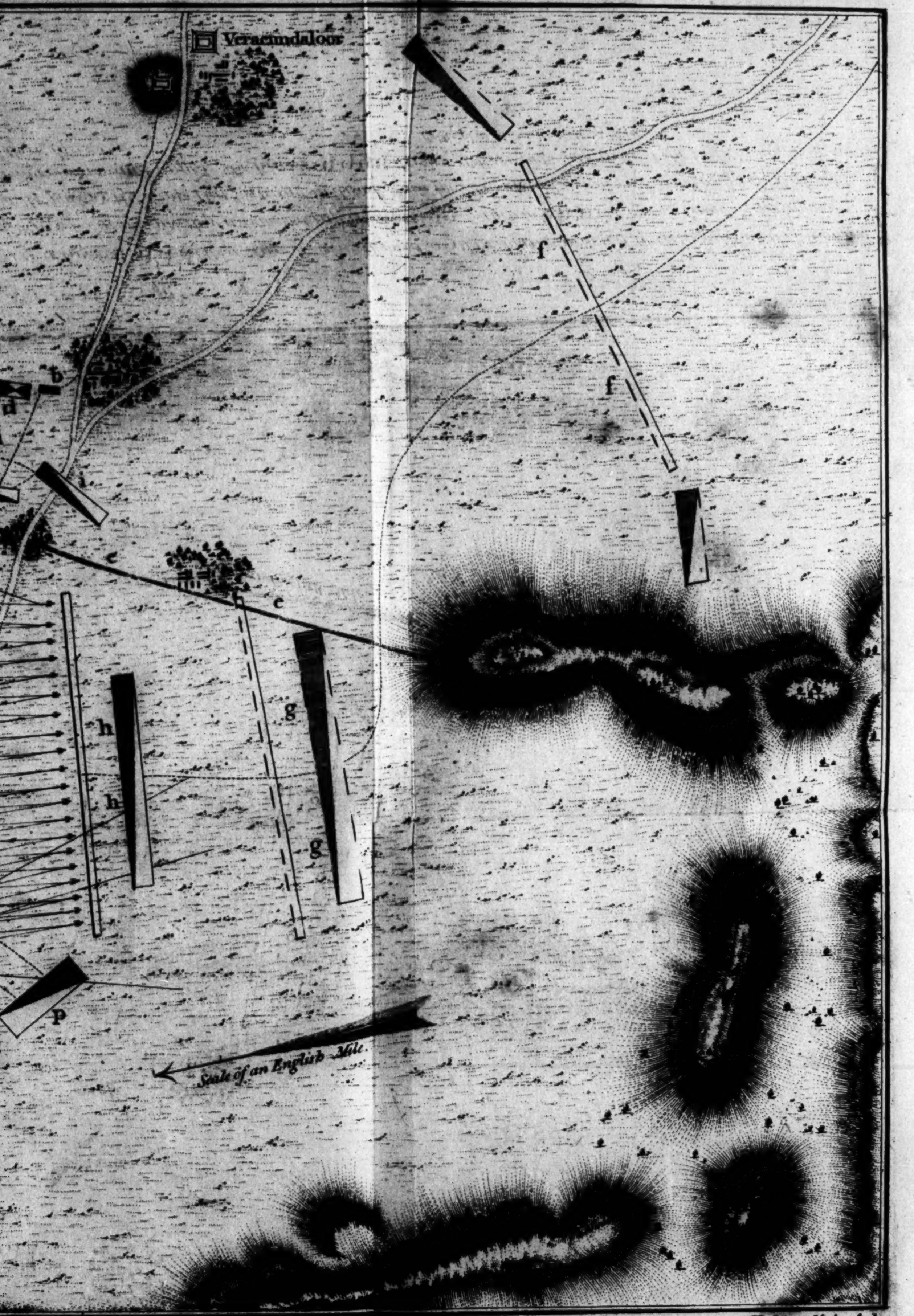


Innes Munro Del^t

REFERE

a. Encampment of the Detachment. b. a Picket from whence one Company was advanced to the little Fort
few to be of any service. eeee. Old walls of loose stones broken down in many places. ff. first appearance of the E
plunder the Baggage. kk. our march towards the pass. l. Batal^n formed to cover the Rear. m. a Bat^n & Guns posted to defend
and 21 Bat^n Sepoys going back to retake the Gun. pp. large bodies of Horse from which considerable detachments were made to ch
and attacked us briskly on all quarters. r. Two Guns of the Enemy's that enfiladed the line of march. s. Genl Cootes rout to t

yder Allys whole force at the paſs of Veracundaloor on 23 of October 1781



Woodman & Mutlow Sculp.

N C E S.

r on a Rock . c . d d d . *Post and Retreat of our Cavalry, being ordered to retire early as they were too*
Enemy, from whence they advanced rapidly first to g g . *& then to* h h . i i i . *Enemy's Cavalry advancing to*
nd the paſs. n . *the same Bat.^n retiring in disorder and forced to abandon one Gun* . o . *European Grenad.^rs*
charge our line and impede the Retreat . q q q q . *Parties of Horse who had entered the paſs by different routs*
o their aſsistance.

Published as the Act directs, March 1st 1789.

Upon the 26th of October the General moved his camp to Pollipet, whilſt a detachment was ſent back to Trippaſore with the ſick and wounded of the army. By the return of this party ſeventy thouſand pagodas arrived ſafely in camp from the Preſidency, which at ſo diſtreſſing a juncture was a very ſeaſonable ſupply; and ſtrongly indicated that money at Fort St. George was in greater plenty than rice. This detachment had alſo the good fortune upon its march back to ſeize ſeven hundred bullocks laden with ſalt, part of a large convoy that had been upon its way to Hyder's camp. A fortunate diſcovery was alſo at this time made of an immenſe quantity of rice that had been hidden under ground, not far from the town of Pollipet; which at laſt enabled us, on the 3d of November, to relieve the inconceivable diſtreſs that Vellore had experienced for a conſiderable time. During this march the enemy gave us very little trouble, though nothing leſs than another general action was expected by us.

Lord Macartney, from the time of his arrival at Madras, was indefatigable in the diſcharge of his public duty. I have already obſerved that he had iſſued directions for the capture of all the inconſiderable Dutch factories; in addition to which the ſiege of Negapatnam, their chief ſettlement upon this coaſt, was concerted, our fleet having blocked up both that place and Trinquamallee ever ſince accounts had tranſpired of the Dutch war.

Sir Eyre Coote, for what reaſon it is hard to determine, ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt the ſiege of Negapatnam at this ſeaſon of the year; but Lord Macartney, ſteady in the proſecution of a meaſure ſo important and practicable, earneſtly requeſted Sir Hector Munro, then waiting at Madras for a paſſage to Europe, in a very valetudinary ſtate, to undertake the ſiege. The mind of this officer, ſoaring above the deſpicable cavilling ſo common in the councils of Madras, eminently qualified him for the execution of any advantageous enterpriſe, and now induced him to acquieſce with his lordſhip's entreaties, obſerving that, ‘ if it was thought he could be of ſervice, he ſhould cheerfully attempt it, though, in the ſtate of health in which he then was, it might be at the hazard of his life.’

The ſouthern army, under Colonel Brathwate, had been ordered to lay ſiege to Negapatnam in conjunction with the marines and ſeamen of the ſquadron; but, in conſequence of a miſunderſtanding between that officer, the Commander in Chief, and Lord Macartney, nothing effectual had been done. The garriſon likewiſe had by this time been ſtrongly reinforced by a large detachment of Hyder Ally's troops, and conſiſted of ſeven thouſand ſepoys and upwards of ſix hundred Europeans. Experienced engineers had alſo for ſome time been putting the fortifications in the beſt poſſible ſtate of defence.

Upon the 21ſt of October Sir Hector Munro, having taken upon him the command of the ſouthern army, ſat down before the place; and a detachment, conſiſting of four hundred and forty marines and eight hundred ſeamen, commanded by by Captains T. Mackenzie, M'Koy, and Reynolds, beſides the battering cannon, ammunition, and other implements for the ſiege, were inſtantly landed from our ſquadron, with ſurpriſing alacrity, in the midſt of inconceivable fatigue.

With this reinforcement the enemy's lines and outworks were ſtormed and carried on the night of the 29th with the greateſt briſkneſs and ſpirit; after which the General gave immediate orders to break ground before the north face of the fort, which duty was executed by both ſoldiers and ſeamen with unexampled diligence and ſucceſs. Sir Edward Hughes alſo, whoſe ardour in the ſervice of his country was ever conſpicuous, finding that his ſhips could not be brought cloſe enough to the ſhore for a bombardment, thought proper to land, in order to concert meaſures the more readily with Sir Hector for the future operations of the ſiege.

After a large battery of ten eighteen-pounders had been completed within three hundred yards of the rampart, and a formidable breaching battery alſo conſtructed in another convenient ſituation, the garriſon was ſummoned to ſurrender. The Dutch governor poſitively reſolved to ſtand a ſiege; and his troops, ſoon after the ſummons, made two briſk ſallies from the fort, but were ſmartly repulſed by the marines and ſeamen in our trenches. Meanwhile General Munro ordered the batteries to be opened; which, by a furious diſcharge, ſoon demoliſhing the neareſt baſtion, the Dutch commandant was induced to ſue for a parley; and an honourable capitulation was ſoon after agreed to, and ſigned upon the 11th of November*. The ſouthern army returned to its former ſtation at Tanjore, where the command again devolved upon Colonel Brathwate, and a veſſel was immediately diſpatched with the priſoners to Madras; the fortifications of Negapatnam, the citadel excepted, being in a ſhort time afterwards entirely demoliſhed, according to orders from the Preſidency.

Thus were two of the moſt formidable foreign garriſons upon the coaſt of Coromandel eraſed to the ground under the conduct and command of Major-general Sir Hector Munro; and what, to his honour as a man, will equal his reputation as a general, was his humane and magnanimous carriage towards thoſe whom the fortune of war had placed within his power. The beſieged and captive inhabitants of either place, inſtead of having cauſe to accuſe him with the wanton commiſſion of cruelties and injuſtice—an impeachment but too general and juſt in this licentious country! have echoed throughout the whole tract of Aſia the moſt grateful panegyrics upon his benevolence, humanity, generoſity, and good faith.

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* During the ſiege about two hundred and fifty Europeans and three hundred blacks were killed and wounded.

Sir Edward Hughes no ſooner ſaw this capitulation ſigned than he re-embarked his ſeamen and marines, with ſome artillery, and about five hundred volunteer ſepoys; and puſhed on with his ſquadron for Trinquamallee, in the iſland of Celon.

Trinquamallee is rendered by nature one of the moſt ſpacious and commodious harbours in the Eaſt. It is completely land-locked upon every ſide, and large enough to contain the whole navy of Great Britain. The poſſeſſors of this place muſt neceſſarily command the whole coaſt of Coromandel, as from Bengal to Cape Comorin it is the only place of ſafety for ſhips during the prevalence of ſtorms. In the monſoon ſeaſons, particularly, every veſſel that cannot take refuge in this baſon muſt proceed upon a long and dangerous voyage to Bombay or other ports upon the coaſt of Malabar. Hence may be ſeen the importance to our nation of ſeizing this place in the beginning of a war, and, if poſſible, of ever afterwards retaining the poſſeſſion of it.

Sir Edward, well knowing the great convenience of this harbour for his naval operations, had ſtationed a ſixty-four gun ſhip to block it up ever ſince the commencement of the ſiege of Negapatnam, and now he himſelf came before it with the whole of his ſquadron.

The entrance into this place is guarded by two forts; the one called Trinquamallee, and the other Oſnaburg; which are built upon the two extremities of a peninſula three miles in length. The firſt is conſtructed upon ground rather low, guarding the neck; and the ſecond is placed upon an hill which fully commands the entrance of the harbour.

Upon the 5th of January, 1782, the Admiral landed Lieutenant Orr, with his company of marine grenadiers, who that night gallantly ſtormed Fort Trinquamallee. Sir Edward, having reinforced the marines with ſome companies of ſeamen under Captain John Gell, of the navy, who of courſe took the command, ordered them next to proceed againſt Fort Oſnaburg, which was immediately ſummoned to ſtrike the Dutch flag to the Engliſh. Here ſome friendly letters paſſed betwixt the Britiſh admiral and the Dutch commandant; who, it ſeems, before the commencement of the war, had been upon terms of friendly intercourſe with each other. The governor, Mr. Van Albert Homoed, however, replied that, ‘ he ſhould be ſorry to forfeit the good opinion either ‘ of Sir Edward Hughes or of his own country, by a baſe ſurrender

‘ of the important charge with which he had the honour of being ‘ intruſted, without firſt being compelled to it by a ſuperior force; ‘ and that he was confident Sir Edward himſelf was too much of ‘ a patriot to entertain any other ſentiments of one who had had ‘ the good fortune to merit his friendſhip;’ or in words nearly to that effect. It may eaſily be imagined how much the generous feelings of the Britiſh admiral were agitated by this noble reply; but the ties of duty and of honour called upon him to conſider the intereſt of his ſovereign as preferable to every other concern. The troops, therefore, were ordered to make an aſſault, in the morning of the 11th, upon Fort Oſnaburg; and accordingly the ſtorming party, compoſed of four hundred and fifty ſeamen and marines, ſupported by the reſt of the detachment, made a movement at daylight towards the fort. The advanced guard, getting in unperceived at the embraſures of the lower fort, was immediately followed by the whole of the ſtorming party, who ſoon drove the enemy from their works, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the fort. The loſs, on either ſide, was ſmall; ours amounting to no more than four officers, with about ſixty marines and ſeamen, killed and wounded. Here Sir Edward reſolved to remain with his ſquadron during the monſoon ſeaſon, having garriſoned the two forts with the detachment of volunteer ſepoys and artillery, embarked at Negapatnam, under the command of Captain Bonnevo.

Nothing could have been of more immediate conſequence to the intereſts of Britain, in the Eaſt, than the reduction of theſe two Dutch garriſons ſo early in the war. That of Negapatnam, in particular, was the origin of ſeveral favourable events. It put into our hands a very important key to the Tanjore country and other ſouthern provinces; and in ſome meaſure contributed to bring about a reconciliation with the Polligars of Marawa and Tinavelly, who had been, through the machinations of Hyder Ally, in open rebellion againſt the Company.

The main army, under Sir Eyre Coote, after having relieved Vellore, were permitted to remain there for refreſhment for two or three days. That garriſon, like moſt others in the Carnatic, is conſtructed in the form of a ſquare, and is ſurrounded by a remarkable broad and deep wet ditch, in which vaſt numbers of alligators are carefully reared, that the paſſage may appear more terrific in the eyes of an enemy. Theſe are amphibious animals of great magnitude, and of the ſame ſpecies with the crocodile. I cannot here omit relating the ſingular manner in which the invalids and old ſoldiers of Vellore amuſe the gentlemen of the army, or others, when they viſit that place. Whenever they learn that the army is expected, they endeavour to collect all the uſeleſs dogs and cats in the garriſon, which they ſell, for one or two rupees each, to ſuch gentlemen as delight in cruelties, who throw them into the ditch, for the alligators to ſnap at. Great numbers of theſe voracious monſters immediately gather round the unfortunate victim, which is inſtantly torn in pieces by them. Notwithſtanding the imminent danger in being immerſed in this ditch, ſome of thoſe old ſoldiers, for a bottle of arrack, will ſtrip and ſwim acroſs it, with a dagger in their hands, without ſuſtaining any harm; which is a proof that theſe animals are ſometimes to be intimidated by noiſe. A ſepoy one day, waſhing himſelf at the verge of this foſſe, happened careleſsly to let his turban drop into the water; in his attempt to recover which an alligator ſiezed him, and in an inſtant his mutilated body appeared floating in different parts of the ditch. They are likewiſe very ſwift upon dry ground, and have the ſame difficulty in turning that the crocodile is ſaid to poſſeſs. An officer, going out one morning early to ſhoot, in paſſing along the counterſcarp of this ditch, was ſuddenly purſued by one of theſe animals that had been baſking upon a bank, and would certainly have been overtaken had he not had the preſence of mind to jump quickly aſide, and ſhoot him in the turning.

The army, being reinforced by Colonel Laing with one hundred European grenadiers from Vellore, proceeded to the attack of Chittore, which made a gallant defence for ſome days, but capitulated upon a breach being effected in the rampart. The ninth battalion of ſepoys, under Captain Lamotte, was left there as a garriſon; but ſo perſuaded were the diſcerning part of our army that this place muſt ſoon fall again into the poſſeſſion of the enemy, that many of the officers left letters with thoſe of the ninth battalion, to be delivered to their friends in priſon at Seringapatnam, and other places under Hyder, when that probable event ſhould take place. Here Captain Tippet of the engineers, a valuable and experienced officer, was killed by a random ſhot, and the General received a ſlight contuſion in the neck from the ſplinter of a ſtone, which the ſhot had raiſed as he was reconnoitering.

Whilſt we were laying ſiege to Chittore, Tippo Sahib marched againſt Captain Temple, who had been left with a few heavy guns and his battalion of ſepoys to protect ſome baggage that remained behind at Pollipet, and to look out for more grain in the abſence of the army. But he and his ſepoys were ſoon forced to diſperſe themſelves amongſt the hills, and relinquiſh their charge to the enemy.

Hyder, finding himſelf thus attacked in a country inacceſſible to his main force (the cavalry), thought that the moſt eligible plan to draw our attention from this quarter was to lay ſiege to Trippaſore, which partly had the deſired effect; for Tippo Sahib no ſooner moved from Pollipet, and opened his guns againſt that place, than Sir Eyre, from that and other motives, marched back by the

Pollams, where Captain Temple and his battalion rejoined the line, and on the 20th of November came out through Naggary paſs, when the army was overtaken by a violent monſoon-ſtorm of wind and rain, which, by overflowing the paſturage, occaſioned the loſs of a vaſt number of our cattle, and gave ſuch a ſhock to the feeble conſtitutions of the Indians, that no leſs than ſix hundred ſouls periſhed upon the banks of the Trippaſore, through fatigue and hunger, before the water had ſufficiently abated to admit of croſſing the river.

Tippo now raiſed the ſiege of Trippaſore and retired to Arcot, from whence he and his father, as was expected, immediately marched and finiſhed this campaign with the recapture of Chittore, and the conqueſt of the ninth battalion of ſepoys; which, after having honourably capitulated, was, to the ſhame of Indian faith, denied the privileges of that ſacred engagement.

About this time propoſals were made to Hyder for an exchange of our Europeans for about one thouſand of his black troops that had been taken in fort Trippaſore. This haughty Chief returned for anſwer, 'That he knew better than to exchange 'European priſoners for a ſet of daſtardly ſcoundrels, whoſe heads, 'to a man, when they returned to him, he would aſſuredly chop 'off.'

'off.' Upon which moſt of them were diſmiſſed, as we had not proviſions for their ſupport.

The monſoon ſeaſon being now fairly ſet in, the army received orders, on the 2d of December, to break up their camp on the Cocolore plain, and march into cantonments in the environs of Madras; and Hyder Ally having done the ſame in Arcot, the campaign of 1781 was thus brought to a concluſion.

CAMPAIGN OF 1782.

LETTER XV.

Madras, December 1782.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I REJOICE to find, by your laſt favour, that the plan which I have adopted of tranſmitting to England one general letter at the concluſion of each campaign meets with your approbation; as ſhort and unconnected communications, ſent at different periods, might not only tend to break the thread of my narrative, but alſo to render the information which I am enabled to give leſs perfect and particular. I now reſume the detail of warlike diſcord in this quarter of the globe, and commence the preſent letter at the period which marked the concluſion of my laſt.

Our army muſtered much about the ſame force in the beginning of the preſent campaign as it did when the laſt ended.

The object of our firſt movement was the relief of Vellore, which had been conſtantly blocked up by the enemy, and had almoſt expended the ſupply of three months rice, which the army had with great difficulty thrown into it at the cloſe of the preceding campaign. The garriſon of Vellore, being now the only key that remained in our poſſeſſion to the paſſes leading into the enemy's country, became an object of the utmoſt importance to us. In order, therefore, to facilitate its relief, the army, whilſt it remained in winter-quarters, had been chiefly employed in eſcorting grain to Pondamalee and Trippaſore, garriſons conveniently ſituated upon the intended route it was to take.

Hyder, being conſtantly upon the watch to guard againſt the relief of Vellore, was ſoon appriſed of our deſtination, and with his whole force prepared to receive us within a few miles of that place.

Sir Eyre Coote choſe to march the army thither by the Sholangur road, in order to have its right flank, as we advanced with the convoy, covered by the Pollam hills; and Hyder, having taken poſt oppoſite to a large tank bordering upon a moraſs, through which our route neceſſarily lay, uſed all his efforts, when we reached that ſpot, to clog our heels and cut off the eſcort; but luckily the hills afforded us ſuch protection that all his endeavours proved ineffectual, and we relieved the garriſon of Vellore upon the 11th of January, with ſix months rice; having loſt three ſubalterns, and about ſeventy men killed and wounded, during the ſkirmiſhes which we had had upon the march.

This diſappointment exaſperated Hyder Ally to ſuch a degree that he reſolved to lay a formidable ſnare for us upon our return to the Preſidency. He accordingly gave orders for three ſluices to be opened in the bank of the aforementioned tank or pond, through which the water ſoon overflowed the adjacent ſlough of about five hundred yards in breadth, and it being afterwards trampled down by his horſe became almoſt impaſſable for infantry. At the diſtance of a cannon-ſhot, and oppoſite to this moraſs, was a ſemicircle of riſing ground, that extended to about a mile in length; upon which were placed large batteries of twenty-four pounders, beſides his field-artillery, cautiouſly maſked by thickets and bruſhwood, all pointing directly into the ſlough. Only a few columns of horſe were brought in view, having drawn up the reſt of his line behind the ſame cover; and in this manner he waited our approach.

On the 13th we departed from Vellore, and, returning by the ſame road, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of theſe hoſtile preparations, our line entered the ſlough, which it was permitted quietly to paſs, until the European brigade, then nearly in the centre, had got quite entangled in the mud. Upon this Hyder let fly a ſignal rocket for the batteries to play, and in an inſtant upwards of fifty guns furiouſly opened upon us; but our troops, being well inured to theſe ſudden aſſaults, ſhewed uncommon firmneſs upon this occaſion, and, with great regularity and briſkneſs, puſhed forward and formed upon the other ſide. Hyder's deſign being thus fruſtrated, he drew off his guns after exchanging ſome ſhots with the Britiſh line, and retreated under the walls of Arcot with his uſual activity, leaving us in the evening to continue our march unmoleſted to Pondamalee, where we arrived upon the 20th; having loſt upon this expedition ſix officers and about thirty Europeans, with one hundred ſepoys killed and wounded*.

The ſquadron and force which had ſailed from England for the attack of the Cape of Good Hope, under Commodore Johnſton and Major-general Meadows, had been ordered, after they had judged that place to be impracticable, to proceed to India, under the direction of Commodore Alms. This fleet having met with ſevere

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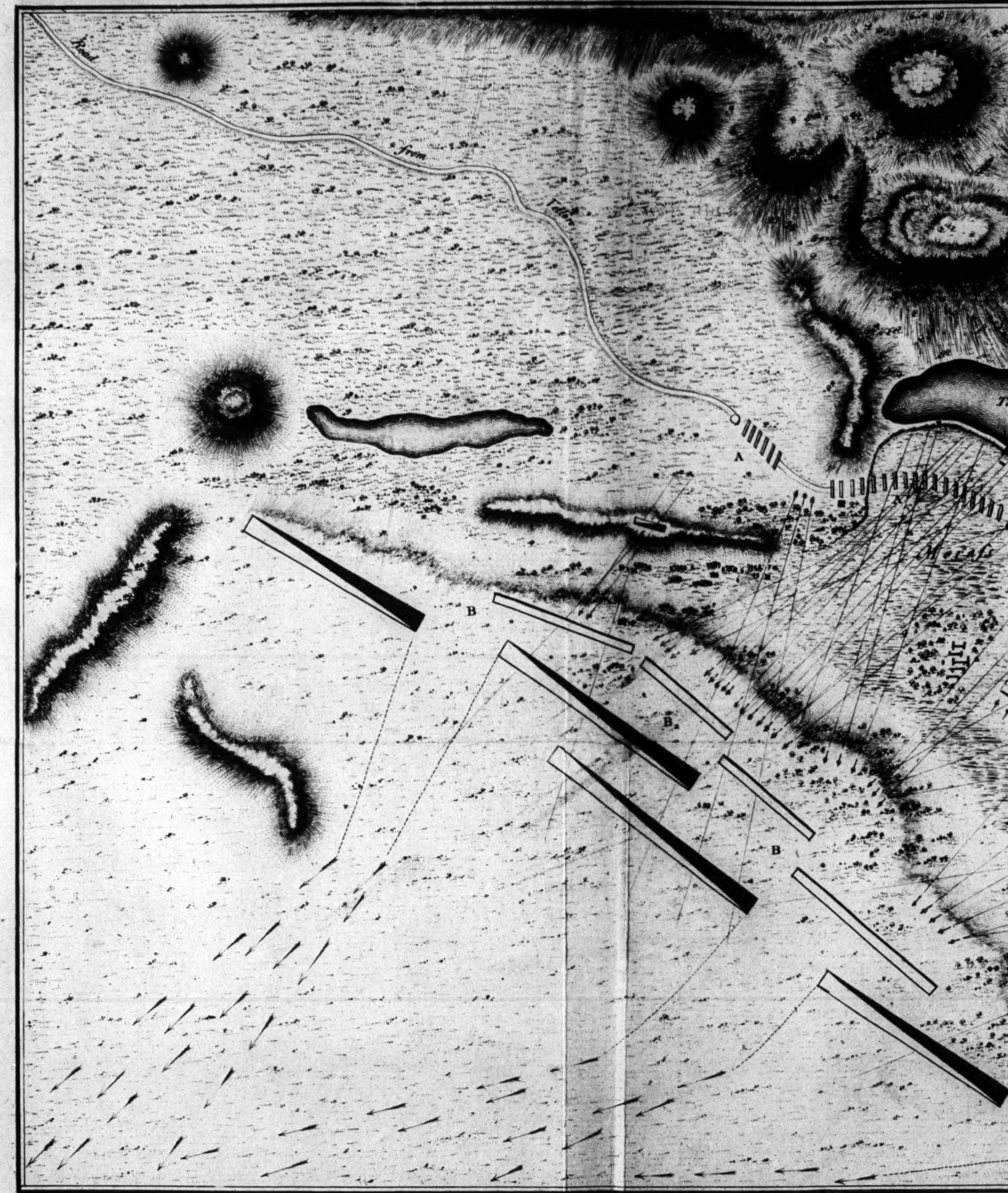
* For the ſatisfaction of my Highland friends, I take this opportunity of commemorating the fall of *John Mackay*, alias *Donn*, a corporal in the ſeventy-third regiment, ſon to *Robert Donn*, the famous Highland bard, whoſe ſingular talent for the beautiful and extemporaneous compoſition of Gaelic poetry was held in ſuch eſteem by the *Highland Society*. This ſon of the bard has frequently revived the drooping ſpirits of his countrymen upon the march, by ſinging in a pleaſant manner the humorous and lively productions of his father. He was killed by a cannon-ball on the 13th, and on the ſame evening was interred by his diſconſolate comrades with all the honours of war.

weather

The British Army under Lt. Gl. Sir Eyre Coote attacked by Hyder's



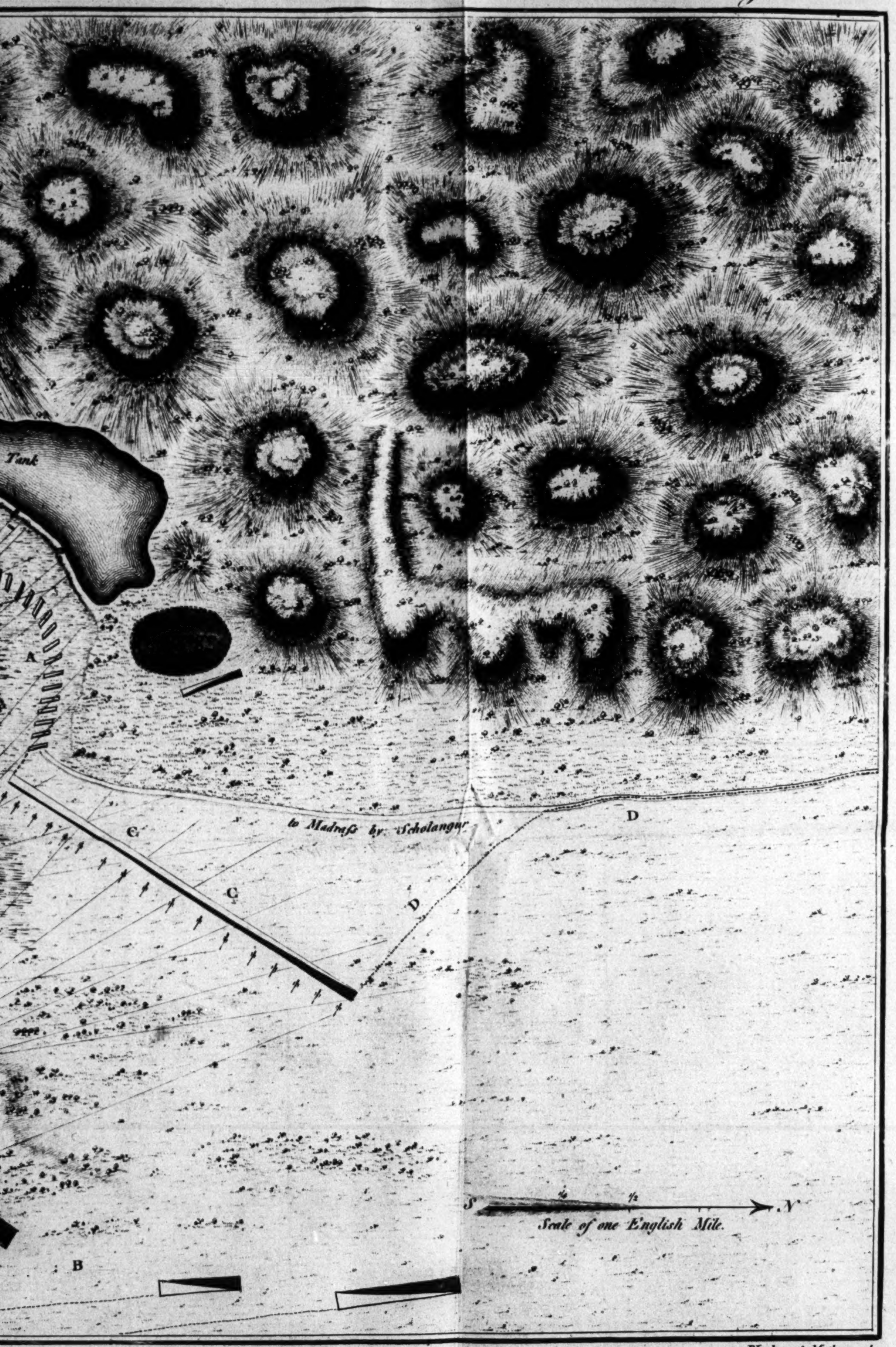
Innes Munro del.

REFERENC

{AAA. *Entangled position of the Britiſh Troops upon their March when first attack'd in the Moraſs.* BBBB. *Position of the Enemy's Line & Guns*, C
Army continues the rout to Madraſs.

Publish'd as the Act directs March 31st 1789.

whole Force upon its return from Vellore on the 13th Jan.y 1782.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B

Woodman & Mutlow sculp.

E S.

CC. The British form'd in Order of Battle, after croſsing the Moraſs. → Retreat of the Enemy. DD. The British weather off the coaſt of Arabia, as it was ſteering for Bombay, and Commodore Alms thinking his voyage might become too tedious for rendering the ſervice requiſite upon the coaſt of Coromandel at this critical period, judiciouſly ſelected four men of war, and his beſt ſailing tranſport, with ſeven hundred of the ninety-eighth regiment on board, under Lieutenant-colonel Fullarton; and, accompanied by Major-general Meadows, puſhed forward to Trinquamalee, where he very opportunely joined Sir Edward Hughes's ſquadron in the beginning of February.

All the reſt of the tranſports and troops, excepting the forty-ſecond regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Norman Macleod, arrived ſoon afterwards at Bombay, from whence they immediately ſailed for the Coromandel coaſt; but Lieutenant-colonel Humberſton Mackenzie, who commanded the diviſion, finding that, ſhould that plan be purſued, they were likely to fall into the hands of the French, judged it more expedient to make a diverſion upon the Malabar coaſt in favour of the general cauſe. He accordingly diſembarked his troops at Callicut upon the 18th of February, which conſiſted of part of the ninety-eighth regiment, four independent companies, and the hundredth regiment; making in all about one thouſand effective men.

A ſhort time preceding this we had alſo accounts from the Malabar coaſt of a ſucceſsful ſally having been made by the garriſon of Tillicherry, under the direction of Major Abingdon of the Company's ſervice, in which Hyder Ally's nephew, named Surdar Cawn, who conducted the ſiege, his whole family and ſeraglio, with fifteen hundred ſepoys, were made priſoners; the Major having likewiſe taken fifty guns and thirteen elephants, beſides horſes, and a quantity of military ſtores. By this event the enemy was forced to raze a ſiege which had laſted for the ſpace of almoſt two years.

The garriſon of Callicut ſoon afterwards ſurrendered to Major Abingdon, in which were found one hundred pieces of cannon, with many other valuable ſtores; but, upon Colonel Humberſton's arrival, the command on that coaſt of courſe devolved upon him, and great part of Major Abingdon's troops were ſoon ordered to join his little army in the field.

The proſperity which now dawned upon us was ſoon overcaſt by an unexpected event. A formidable fleet of French men of war and tranſports having anchored off Pollicat on the 7th of February, the natural concluſion now was, that the garriſon of Madras was about to be beſieged; and, though the army was at this time cloſe in its environs, there ſeemed but little proſpect of repelling with ſucceſs ſuch a powerful force, both by ſea and land, as our ſquadron was at that time abſent at Trinquamallee. The conſternation into which we were thrown by this unexpected incident was, however, next day in ſome meaſure alleviated by the ſudden appearance of Sir Edward Hughes's fleet, which, as was ſaid before, having been luckily reinforced by Commodore Alms's diviſion, now amounted to nine line of battle ſhips, one frigate and a fireſhip. On that night the Britiſh ſquadron anchored abreaſt of the fort, and the merchant veſſels and ſmall craft were ordered to draw cloſer in towards the ſhore, and place themſelves under cover. Sir Edward, in the mean time, taking on board his fleet three hundred officers and men of the ninety-eighth regiment, to act as marines.

The French ſquadron was commanded by the Chevalier de Suffrein, and conſiſted of twelve ſhips of the line, four frigates, one bomb, and one cutter, ſix captured veſſels, and eight large armed tranſports, with three thouſand land troops on board, under the command of Monſ. Duchemin. On their voyage to this country they were ſo fortunate as to fall in with and overpower the Hannibal of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Chriſtie, coming from England with diſpatches, which veſſel is included in the French liſt of the line ſpecified above.

Early in the morning of the 15th the whole of the French fleet were perceived to be under way, ſteering towards the Roads of Madras, with a ſtrong ſea-breeze in their favour; and about two o'clock in the afternoon they drew up and anchored in a line of battle a-breaſt, at the diſtance of about a league from the Britiſh ſquadron, when they held a council of war.

Three hours had elapſed in this poſition, each party anxiouſly awaiting the event, and flattering itſelf with the ſanguine hope of a ſucceſsful and deciſive combat; but it appeared that the prevailing opinion in the council of war, which had been held on board the French Admiral's ſhip, condemned the attack of Sir Edward Hughes's ſquadron whilſt at anchor, as had been firſt intended; and even determined that every attack whatever was, if poſſible, to be avoided, until the land troops could be diſembarked in ſome convenient place, where they might form a junction with Hyder Ally Cawn, this being their principal object in appearing at preſent upon the Coromandel coaſt.

They accordingly weighed again and ſtood to the ſouthward, when Sir Edward, determined not to loſe ſight of his enemy, made the ſignal to ſlip and chaſe, and quickly followed them with his inferior force. At day-light next morning he found that the enemy's ſhips had ſeparated in the night; the men of war bearing eaſtward of him, and the frigates and tranſports ſouth-weſt, ſteering apparently for Pondicherry. To the latter the Britiſh Admiral judiciouſly gave chaſe, and captured ſix ſail of ſhips and veſſels, five of which had been taken from us to the northward of Madras, and the ſixth was the Lauriſton, a tranſport, captured by the Iſis, Captain Lumley, which contained many French officers, with three hundred men of the regiment of Lauſanne, and was beſides deeply laden with a valuable cargo of military ſtores.

The French fleet, in their endeavour to ſave their tranſports, neceſſarily cloſed with ours, and, on the afternoon of the 17th, a hot action enſued off Sadras; which, though not deciſive, was highly honourable to Sir Edward, and well fought upon both ſides.

Our ſquadron, having ſuffered conſiderably, proceeded for a temporary repair to Trinquamallee, and from thence ſpeedily returned to Madras. In our fleet there were only one hundred and twenty-ſeven men killed and wounded. Among the former were Captains Stevens of the Superb and Reynolds of the Exeter; brave officers, both greatly lamented by their gallant commander.

Meanwhile Tippo Sahib, with an army of twenty thouſand horſe and foot, and twenty guns, accompanied by Monſ. Lally and four hundred French ſoldiers, having entered the Tanjore country to raiſe contributions, unexpectedly ſurrounded a detachment of the ſouthern army, commanded by Colonel Brathwate, conſiſting of two thouſand infantry, three hundred horſe, and thirteen guns, which had encamped at the village of Combiconum, near the banks of the Coleroon; a place that till then had been deemed perfectly ſecure from ſurpriſe. But Tippo Sahib ſoon convinced the Colonel that an enterpriſing ſpirit can conquer every difficulty. The detachment was furiouſly attacked upon all quarters, and firſt endeavoured to make good their retreat to Tanjore; but, finding that meaſure impracticable, a deſperate battle enſued. The Britiſh troops fought with uncommon gallantry, but were finally overpowered by the impetuoſity of freſh numbers conſtantly pouring in upon them, and a dreadful ſlaughter took place, in which the enemy's horſe exerciſed their wonted cruelties to ſuch a degree, that, had it not been for the generous interference of the French, ſcarce a man would have eſcaped with his life.

This action laſted for the ſpace of twenty-ſix hours before the Britiſh troops were wholly vanquiſhed. Of twenty officers belonging to the detachment, twelve were killed and wounded; in which latter number was Colonel Brathwate, who diſplayed great compoſure and gallantry upon this trying occaſion, as did Lieutenant Sampſon, commanding the corps of cavalry; and indeed every other officer of the party. All the ſepoys were either cut to pieces or diſperſed. The ſouthern army was ſo weakened by this unfortunate diſaſter as to be incapable, for ſome time afterwards, of appearing openly in the field.

Upon this ſignal victory Tippo Sahib marched forthwith to Porto Nova, where moſt of the French ſquadron had put in after the laſt action, in a very ſhattered condition, having had a great part of their convoy diſperſed. All the infantry and marines of their fleet were now diſembarked, and joined Tippo Sahib's army on the 10th of March; who, with this reinforcement, immediately marched againſt the garriſon of Cuddalore, which capitulated, by orders from the Preſidency, without a ſhot being fired.

This being done, and Monſ. Suffrein having given a ſlight repair to his ſhips, the French fleet ſailed with the utmoſt expedition to Battacolo, a port in the iſland of Celon; from whence a frigate was diſpatched to Point de Galle (their appointed rendezvous) in queſt of their diſperſed tranſports, which ſoon rejoined them at the former place. The Bellona frigate was alſo ſent upon a cruiſe to the northward of Madras, where ſhe took from us the Chaſer ſloop of war with many valuable traders.

The Britiſh ſquadron was at this time luckily reinforced by the Sultan and Magnanime ſhips of the line, with a convoy of Indiamen from England, which had brought out with them Seaforth's regiment, conſiſting of one thouſand Highlanders.

Sir Edward Hughes having now equipped his fleet entirely to his wiſh; for the India ſhips that had juſt arrived ſpared him a greater portion of ſeamen than had been loſt in the laſt action; and, having taken on board the remainder of the ninety-eighth regiment to complete his marines, again ſallied forth in queſt of the enemy.

Major-general Meadows, who had now been a ſufficient length of time at Madras to diſcover all the anarchy and diſſention which prevailed in that Preſidency, plainly ſaw that little military fame could be acquired under ſuch inconſiſtent management, and therefore reſolved to return home by the firſt opportunity; but, until a veſſel could be found that was deſtined for Europe, the General choſe to accompany Sir Edward Hughes as a volunteer upon this cruiſe.

The Britiſh admiral fortunately fell in with the French fleet off Trinquamallee, juſt as they had ſet ſail from Batacolo, with the intention of landing the reſt of their troops upon the continent of

India. This happened on the 9th of April; and on the 12th, during which interval the fleets never loſt ſight of each other, a truly memorable and bloody battle enſued, which reflected the brighteſt glory on both their commanders. In this action, perhaps the hotteſt in which the navies of either country were ever engaged, each ſhip ſtrove to excel its opponent in feats of deſperate heroiſm, particularly the two on board of which the reſpective flag of each admiral was diſplayed; for, at piſtol-ſhot diſtance, ſuch was the effect of their inceſſant and deſtructive fire, that the very ſea for a conſiderable ſpace around them was perfectly becalmed. The Britiſh admiral at laſt perceived that the fire of the French Hero conſiderably ſlackened, upon which he gave orders to board her; but his gallant deſign was inſtantly fruſtrated by a dreadful exploſion on the forecaſtle of the Superb, occaſioned by the careleſſneſs of a midſhipman, by which no leſs than ſeventy perſons were unfortunately deſtroyed. Yet ſuch was the ardour of his tars upon the lower decks, that they continued, without intermiſſion, to thunder upon the French Hero; which, by that time completely ſilenced and greatly diſabled, was taken off by her ſeconds. Thus, neither party being willing to yield the ſmalleſt advantage to the other, they continued the ſlaughter until the fall of night put an end to the conteſt; which, from their equality in proweſs, though not in numbers, was left undecided. In the Britiſh fleet one hundred and thirty-ſeven men were killed, and four hundred and thirty wounded.

In a ſituation the moſt diſabled and impotent, both ſquadrons dropped anchor nearly on the ſpot where the action had been fought, within random ſhot of each other; but ſuch had been the dreadful nature of the preceding conflict, that neither ſeemed inclined to renew it. Their ſhips greatly ſhattered, and men overpowered by fatigue, there ſeemed to be for a time a mutual and tacit ceſſation to enmity. In this manner both fleets lay till the morning of the 19th, when the enemy's got under ſail, and made a kind of offer to renew the action; but, perceiving the Britiſh prepared for their reception, they ſtood off to the eaſtward towards Battacolo to refit; and Sir Edward Hughes, in a few days afterwards, entered Trinquamallee harbour with a ſimilar intent. When General Meadows returned to Madras he ſpoke in the higheſt terms of the Britiſh Admiral's cool and deliberate intrepidity.

A dreadful ſickneſs ſoon after this prevailed in the ſquadron, which obliged Sir Edward to remain about two months at Trinquamallee; during which period Monſ. Suffrein, after having refitted, and finding his ſquadron fall ſhort of proviſions, ſailed to Trinquabar, where three Dutch Indiamen had arrived from Battavia with rice and other neceſſaries, and from thence proceeded to Cuddalore, where he remained for ſome time meditating the attack of Negapatnam.

About this period a tranſaction paſſed, which raiſed great diſguſt in the minds of the Britiſh army, and drew forth their reproaches againſt thoſe whom they conſidered as the cauſe of the ſubſequent diſtreſſes of many of their gallant countrymen. From the number of ſeamen which the French ſquadron had at different times captured in our traders and other veſſels, particularly in the Hannibal man of war, and Fortitude Indiaman, Monſ. Suffrein was greatly at a loſs both for proviſions and quarters for his priſoners, which induced him to ſolicit for an exchange with us, who had then about three hundred French ſoldiers in our cuſtody at Madras; he at the ſame time candidly declaring, that otherwiſe he ſhould be under the neceſſity of delivering them up in charge to his Miſorian allies. It appeared, however, that the unanimity requiſite to effect a buſineſs, even of this trivial importance, did not ſubſiſt between the members of the Council and Commander of the army at Madras; and it conſequently became the fate of upwards of three hundred Britiſh ſubjects, like too many others before them, to be immured in the priſons of Bangalore, and other garriſons in the Miſore country, which, to our ſhame be it ſaid, were by this time teeming with Britiſh captives. It is impoſſible to ſay, without a ſerious inveſtigation, which it certainly merits, againſt whom the odium of this diſgraceful buſineſs ought to be chiefly directed. To have fallen, by the unavoidable fate of war, into the hands of an enemy was a ſufficient misfortune; but that thoſe poor fellows ſhould, through the neglect or deſign of their countrymen, be thrown into ſuch miſerable captivity, was an aggravation that rouſed the warmeſt reſentment of every feeling heart.

Hyder was no ſooner appriſed of Monſ. Suffrein's ſquadron being at Cuddalore than he marched his army down from Arcot to the Red-hills of Pondicherry, where he was joined by all the French troops, and amuſed himſelf by laying ſiege to Permacoil; which, from the mutinous ſtate of the garriſon, and the ſcarcity of proviſions and water, capitulated in a few weeks after it was beſieged.

The Council of Madras having conceived that the movements of the main army, under General Coote, were to be entirely regulated by the ſucceſs of our ſquadron; or, rather, being apprehenſive of their own ſafety in its abſence; cauſed it to remain for three whole months at St. Thomas's Mount in a ſtate of ſhameful inactivity, at a time when, by a march to Porto Nova, it might have oppoſed the junction of the French forces with Tippo Sahib, or at any rate prevented the fall of Permacoil and Cuddalore. But, inſtead of rendering theſe eſſential ſervices, its whole employment, during this alarming period, conſiſted in the eſcorting of rice to the garriſon of Chingliput, in order to facilitate a circuit which afterwards took place, without anſwering the leaſt good purpoſe: and indeed it was vain to expect any thing but fruitleſs expeditions from an army ſo oppreſſed by followers and baggage, and which never could carry with it into the field, at any one time, more than a month's proviſions.

At laſt General Coote, after being joined in the end of April by the ſeventy-eighth, or Seaforth's regiment of Highlanders, about eight hundred ſtrong, advanced ſouth by Carangooly and Vandewaſh towards the confederates, who were then encamped upon the Red-hills of Pondicherry.

This was the firſt trial which the ſeventy-eighth regiment had had of Oriental marching, and they conſequently ſuffered ſeverely. Their diſtreſſes reminded me much of thoſe which our own corps experienced upon a like occaſion in the march of Auguſt 1780 to Congeveram. By dear-bought experience, however, thoſe that now remained of the ſeventy-third regiment were well inured with the climate, very ſeldom ever dropping a man behind; which enabled us upon theſe occaſions to extend our ſympathy and aſſiſtance to our ſinking and oppreſſed countrymen. They, like all other inxperienced ſoldiers, were not contented with ſimply moiſtening their mouths, but eagerly ſwallowed immenſe quantities of bad water in the heat of perſpiration, which was ſpeedily productive of the moſt fatal effects; for, out of ſeven hundred that might parade in good ſpirits at day-break in the morning, ſcarcely one hundred were to be ſeen ſtanding by their colours when the army encamped in the evening, every gun and cart in the line being loaded with their ſick. This regiment was compoſed of men ſinewy and robuſt, which rendered them much more ſuſceptible of the ſun's violence than thoſe of a more ſlender habit.

On the ſecond day's march from Vandewaſh we got a full view of the enemy, when the General thought it adviſeable to make a diverſion in order to ſeparate the allies, and, if poſſible, to draw them from the commanding grounds, which they then poſſeſſed, to a leſs advantageous ſituation. For this purpoſe he ſuddenly changed his route to the weſt, and next night encamped before the fort of Chitaput; ſeemingly with the intention of attacking that garriſon, which had immediately the deſired effect; for Hyder no ſooner heard of the courſe which we had taken than he came quickly to its relief, leaving his French allies behind him.

General Coote upon this ſtruck off further to the weſt for the garriſon of Arnè, which gave ſtill greater alarm to Hyder, as we now ſeemed to have a deſign againſt his principal magazine and treaſury. This cauſed him to redouble his expedition in the purſuit; and upon the 2d of June, about three miles from that fort, his advanced parties came up with our rear-guard, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Elphinſton of the ſeventy-third regiment, and opened upon it full twenty pieces of cannon, which were quickly followed by all the guns of his army. Colonel Elphinſton maintained his ground with his uſual ſpirit and intrepidity, until the General had formed the army into a ſingle line, by cauſing the troops to face about, and file off to the left of the rear battalion; he having at the ſame time poſted a brigade of infantry, and the cavalry, under Lieutenant-colonel Owen, to protect the baggage in our rear; and in this manner the cannonade became general and warm upon both ſides.

The Britiſh line was no ſooner formed than it made a rapid advance upon the enemy's guns. At this auſpicious moment a beautiful antelope was perceived bounding in full ſpeed from right to left between the two armies; a circumſtance that, in ancient days, would have been accounted an omen; and, by a Roman general, turned to ſome material advantage in an army where ſuperſtition preſided ſo much as in ours. The Miſorians ſoon retreated and renewed the cannonade, whilſt the Britiſh were forced to halt until Lieutenant-colonel Owen ſhould come up with that unwieldy maſs of baggage, which always retarded our moſt important operations. This being done, we advanced again upon the enemy at a quick pace, who inſtantly retreated acroſs the river of Arne; but they were ſo cloſely purſued by the Britiſh forces, that ſeven tumbrils, which had got entangled in the bed of the river, ſoon became a prize to the ſpirited and manly exertions of the Honourable Captain James Lindſay of the ſeventy-third regiment. He, perceiving a battalion of the enemy's ſepoys endeavouring to extricate the tumbrils, judiciouſly concluded, that, in order to capture them, time was not to be loſt in ſending for orders; and accordingly puſhed forward to them with the greateſt celerity at the head of his grenadier company, ſupported by the reſt of the ſeventy-third, under Major George Mackenzie; and, diſperſing the Miſorians, quickly made the tumbrils his prize. This bold puſh encouraged a battalion of Bengal ſepoys upon the left, immediately after, to make an attempt of the ſame nature upon one of the enemy's guns, which they perceived before them in a like predicament, and which was alſo ſeized. General Coote ſeeing both theſe corps in purſuit of the fugitives, and that their ardor was not to be reſtrained, ordered to their ſupport the reſt of the European grenadiers, the light infantry, and a regiment of cavalry with ſome guns, which, when united, purſued the enemy a little further, and then returned to the line; when the General highly commended Captain Lindſay's gallantry,

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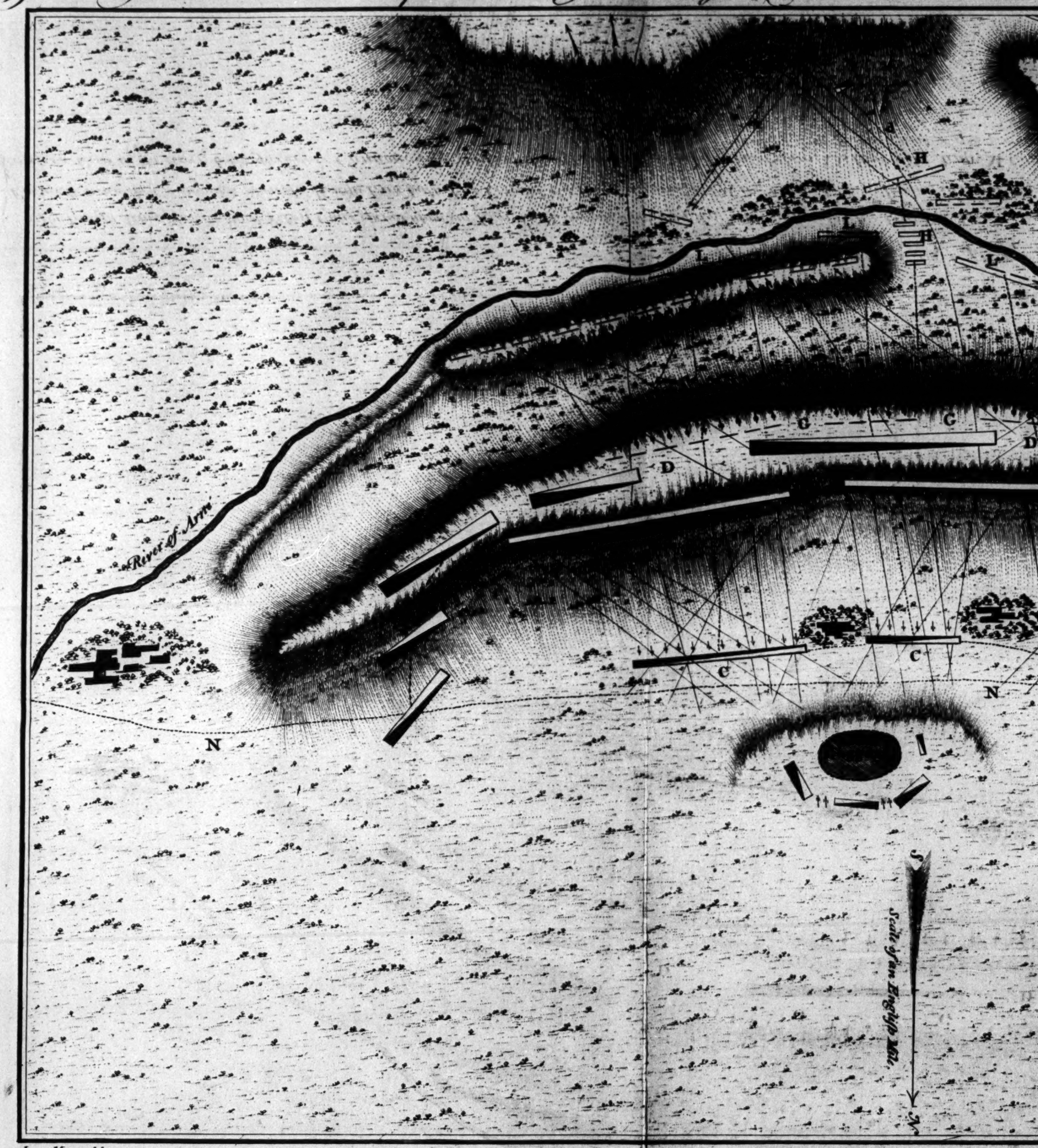
BATTLE OF AR

Gained by 10,000 British Troops under Lt. Gl. Sir Eyre Coote, over 120,000 Miso



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REFERENCES

A. The British Army upon its March, B. First Guns opened upon our Rear; C. Retrograde motion of the Army in forming the Line, D.d. Advance and
Enemy, to renew the Cannonade upon the British Line halted at G, until the Baggage came up, H. the Grenad.rs & 73.d Regim.t in rapid pursu
seizes a Gun in the River, both afterwards Cannonading the Battal.n at K, which had abandoned them; L.L. Halt of the Army; M. Camp

Publish'd as the Act directs March 31st 1789.

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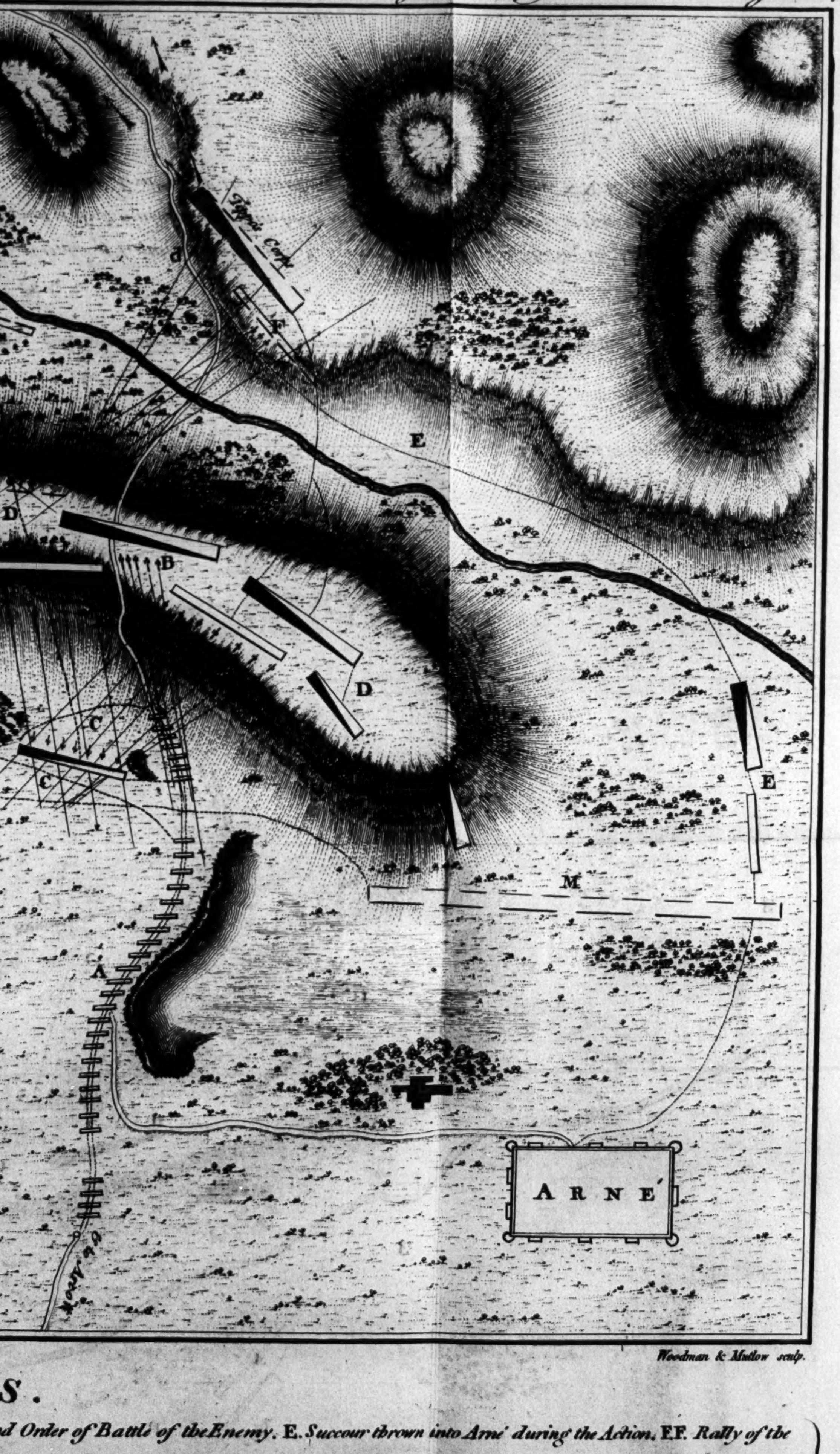
sorians under the Nabob Hyder Ally-Cawn, on 2.nd June, 1782.



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d Order of Battle of the Enemy. E. *Succour thrown into Arné during the Action.* F.F. *Rally of the*
suit of the Enemy, take 7 Tumbrils in the River; at same time a Bat.n of Bengal Sepoys at I.
p before Arné after the Battle. ⟶ *Retreat of the Enemy.* N.N. *Rout back to Madras.*

although he had acted without orders; and alſo thanked the Bengal ſepoys, and thoſe by whom the aſſailants had been ſo well ſupported.

It is but juſtice to mention that in this action fell *Meer Sally*, black commandant of the fourth battalion of Madras ſepoys, whoſe attachment to the Company, and whoſe bravery and experience in military affairs, were univerſally reſpected and admired. This valuable officer fell a ſacrifice to that ſpirit of predeſtination which univerſally prevails amongſt Mahomedans. He was requeſted to ſtand out of the way of a random ſhot that was coming directly towards his battalion, which he ſcornfully refuſed to do, ſaying "*Let God's will be done*," and he was inſtantly killed. General Coote teſtified his good opinion of this brave man, by immediately appointing his brother, who was an inferior officer in the ſame corps, to ſucceed him in his command. About one hundred and fifty officers and privates were killed and wounded in this affair.

The Britiſh army encamped that night upon the field of battle, and next day ſat down before Arnè, with an intent to beſiege it; but, after making a few oſtentatious evolutions before that place, the ſcarcity of grain forced us expeditiouſly back to Madras.

At the village of Niddingull, upon our return from Arnè, the imprudence of a zealous though unexperienced officer, oppoſed to the artifice and craft of Hyder Ally, occaſioned the loſs of our grand guard by a maſterly *coup de main* of the latter; who, upon this occaſion, diſplayed an uncommon ſhare of addreſs. After having pitched our tents, and ſtationed all the outpoſts in the environs of our camp, the troops began to refreſh themſelves in their uſual unconcerned manner, when Hyder Ally, with three thouſand of his beſt horſe, came quietly to reconnoitre the camp directly oppoſite to the grand-guard, which was then under arms, and conſiſted of one regiment of black cavalry, two guns, and one hundred infantry, ſtrongly poſted at the ſkirt of a wood, a little way in front of our army. Hyder had no ſooner ſeen their poſition than he threw in ſight two or three loaded elephants and camels to attract their attention, keeping his main body of horſe concealed in the woods behind. This bait had the deſired effect, for the officer was induced to quit his poſt without heſitation, and advance with his whole guard to ſeize the imaginary prize. Hyder's horſe immediately ruſhed out of their concealments; and, notwithſtanding the gallant defence which they made, the whole party were in an inſtant cut in pieces.

After ſuſtaining this heavy loſs we proceeded to Vandewaſh, where ſome ſtores and ammunition had been left; and on the 20th of June reached the Mount, when it appeared by the caſualty-rolls of the army that about one hundred and fifty had been killed and wounded at Arnè; and that, from the extreme heat and fatigue of marching, Seaforth's corps had loſt one hundred and fifty privates and two officers. To this number may alſo be added the three hundred that formed the grand-guard, making in all ſix hundred fighting men loſt upon this fruitleſs excurſion.

Monſ. Suffrein, being well acquainted with the ſickly ſtate of our ſquadron at Trinquamallee, determined to avail himſelf of that misfortune by laying ſiege to Negapatnam, and by that means get to poſſeſſion of our principal key to the Tanjore country; but Sir Edward Hughes, having apprehenſions of ſuch a deſign, had moved to Negapatnam road in the end of the preceding month.

On the 5th of July, the French ſquadron, conſiſting of twelve ſhips of the line beſides frigates, came in ſight of the Britiſh, then lying at anchor in Negapatnam road. The latter inſtantly weighed and ſtood towards the enemy. On the following morning a very warm engagement enſued, in which the Admirals of both fleets ſet a valiant and animating example to their reſpective followers. Ours was well ſupported; and, having the wind in his favour, ſoon broke the French line: in the reforming of which Monſ. Suffrein diſplayed prodigies of gallantry; for, whilſt he engaged his enemy on one ſide, he was ſeen diſcharging his guns from the other upon thoſe ſhips of his own ſquadron which had quitted the line in diſobedience to his orders.

The French admiral, from the miſconduct of ſome of his captains, was forced at length to withdraw from the fight, and puſh for Cuddalore roads; and, had Sir Edward Hughes's ſignals for the chaſe been properly obſerved, this might have proved a very deciſive action. The Severe, of ſixty-four guns, had actually ſtruck her flag to the Sultan, Captain Watt, and had for ſome time lain under her ſtern; but, whilſt the latter was wearing to join the Britiſh admiral, her prize made ſail and regained her own fleet. This ſhip was formally demanded from Monſ. Suffrein on the following day; but to this requiſition he returned an evaſive anſwer, ſaying that the enſign of the Severe had been ſhot away by accident, not hauled down by deſign. Here Sir Edward Hughes had another gallant and experienced officer killed by his ſide—Captain Maclellan, of the Superb, whoſe fall was univerſally lamented.

Our fleet, which had ſuffered but little upon this occaſion, either in killed or wounded, returned to Negapatnam; which was no ſooner known at the Preſidency of Madras than the Sceptre, of ſixty-four guns, juſt arrived from England, and the St. Carlos armed ſhip, loaded with ſtores and recovered ſeamen, were diſpatched thither, that no time might be loſt by the Britiſh admiral in purfixing the advantages which he had gained. But Sir Edward, not expecting ſuch alacrity in the forwarding of his views, and finding that his ſhips were in want of ſtores of every kind, judged it proper to return immediately to Madras for a ſupply, where he continued refitting till the 20th of Auguſt. By his movement from Negapatnam the other two ſhips miſſed the fleet; and in their return to Madras narrowly eſcaped being taken by three French men of war, that had kept a cloſe purſuit after them the greateſt part of the way.

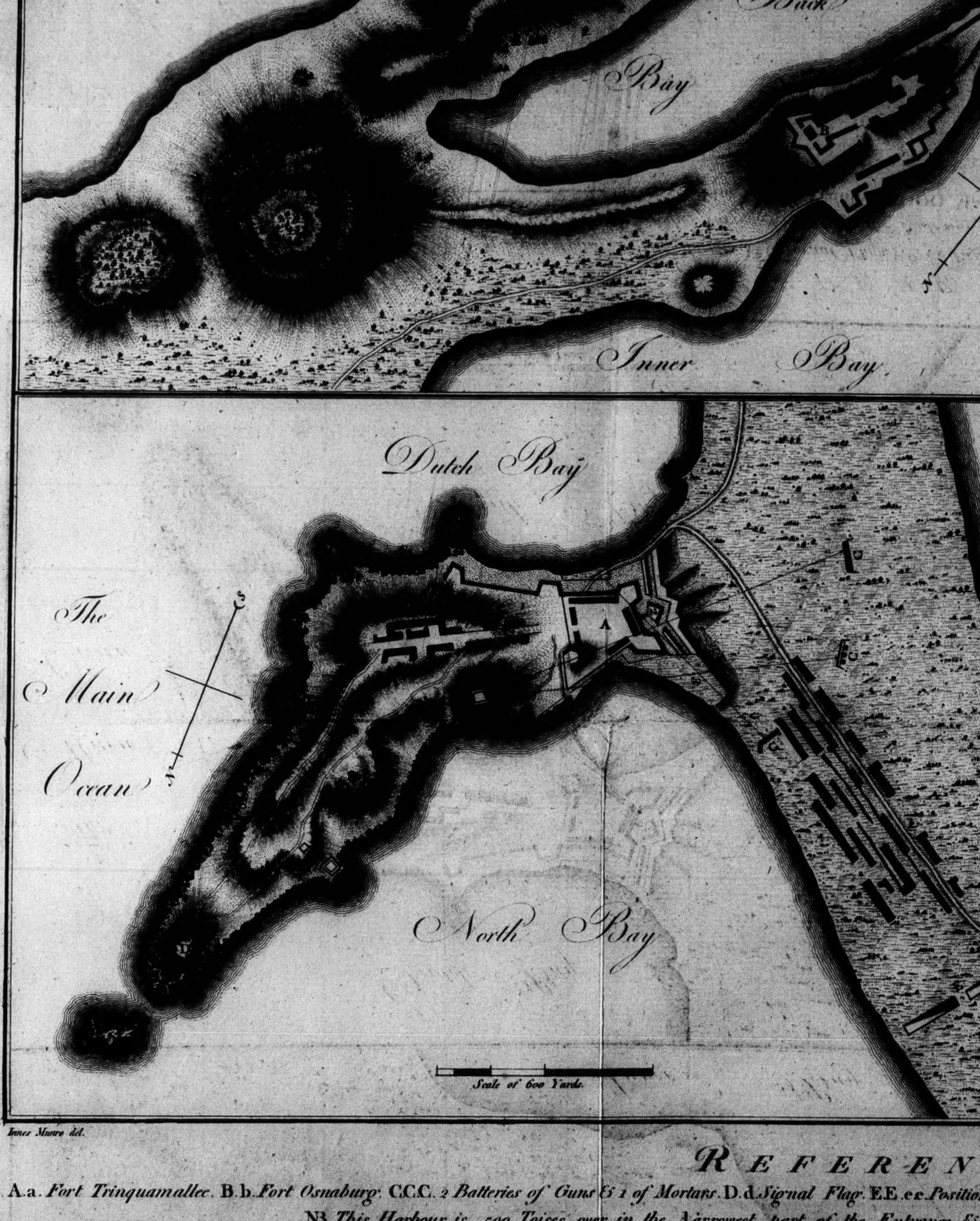
Sir Edward, finding that he could not get his ſquadron ſo expeditiouſly equipped as he expected, detached in the mean time the two beſt ſailing ſhips of his fleet, with two hundred men from the forty-ſecond and ſeventy-eighth regiments, commanded by Captain Hay Macduel of the former, to reinforce Trinquamallee, who conſequently ſuperſeded Captain Bonnevo of the Company's ſervice, that had been left there with the ſepoys to put the fortifications in repair. This detachment arrived ſafely at Celon, and the ſhips rejoined Sir Edward Hughes on the 12th of Auguſt, having been chaſed great part of the way back by a diviſion of the French fleet.

Upon Captain Macduel's arrival at Trinquamallee, he found the two forts, but particularly the lower one, in ſo weak a ſtate of defence that the labour of ſome months was requiſite to render them in any degree tenable; and, what was ſtill worſe, the ſtores and ammunition were ſo injudiciouſly diſtributed, that the greateſt part of the powder lay in one of the forts, whilſt the balls were lodged in the other. Captain Macduel had ſcarcely begun to remedy this evil, when he found himſelf beſieged by the active Suffrein, who had ſecretly ſailed from Cuddalore to Battacolo, where he was joined, on the 24th of Auguſt, by two line-of-battle ſhips and a formidable body of troops, with which force he quickly laid ſiege to Trinquamallee. Captain Macduel, thus attacked, made as good a ſtand as his defenceleſs ſituation would admit of, but was forced to capitulate on the 30th; by which event the moſt convenient and eſſential harbour in India was loſt to the Britiſh crown.

This was immediately followed by another action betwixt the two fleets, which took place upon the 3d of September. Sir Edward Hughes, having ſailed from Madras with an intention to prevent the enemy from giving ſuccour to Cuddalore, the ſiege of which place was then in agitation at the Preſidency, appeared in ſight of the French fleet off Trinquamallee, on the third day after its capitulation had been ſigned.

⁂ The annexed Plan of Trinquamallee I faithfully copied from one drawn by a French engineer for the governor of the Iſle of France, comprehending the improvements that had been recently made upon the works of that place by the French.

Plan of the Forts Trinquamallee and Osnaburg, ta


Back Bay
Inner Bay
B
N
Dutch Bay
The Main Ocean
S
N
A
D
C
E
North Bay
Scale of 600 Yards

Innes Munro del.

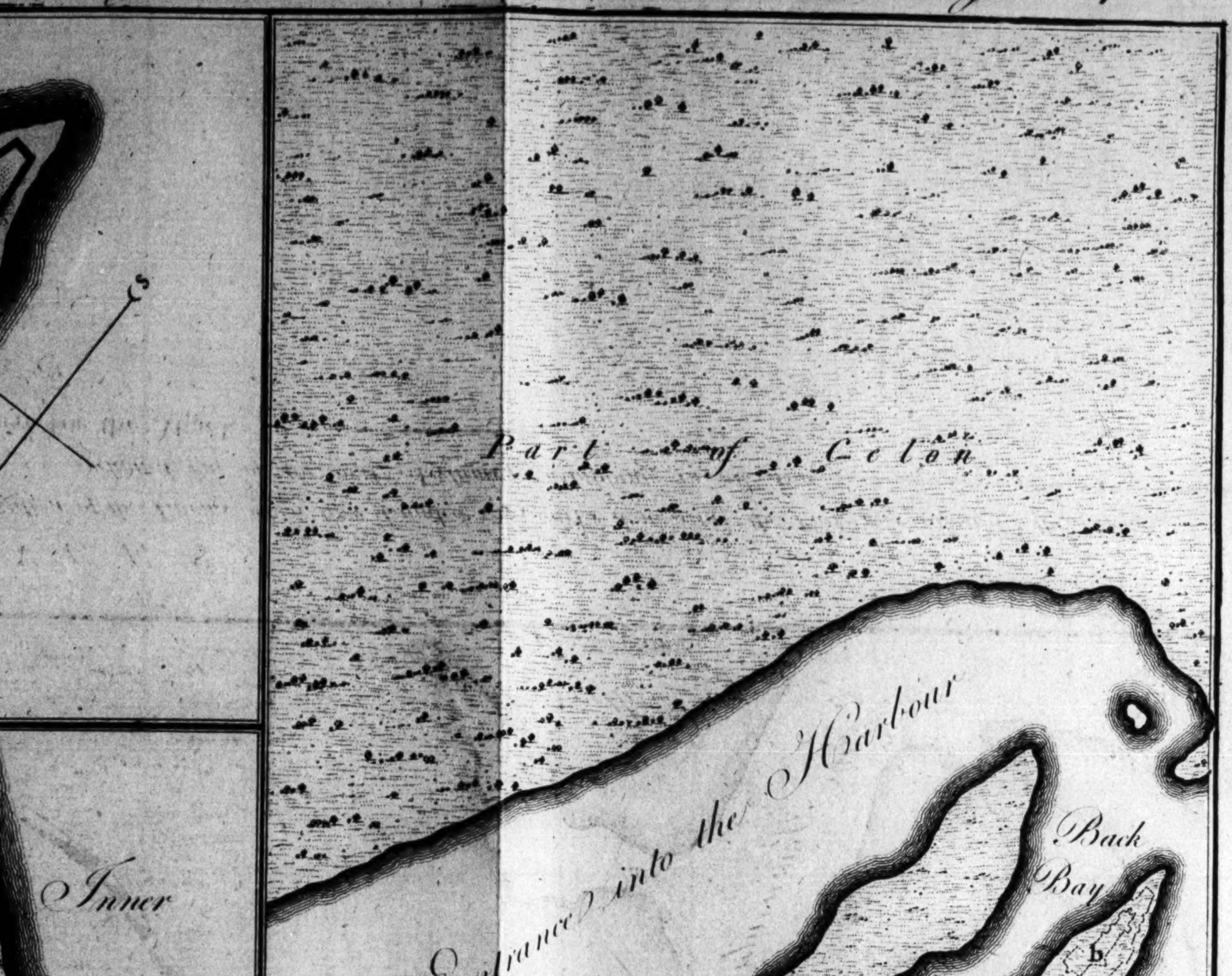
REFEREN

A.a. *Fort Trinquamallee*. B.b. *Fort Osnaburg*. C.C.C. *2 Batteries of Guns & 1 of Mortars*. D.d. *Signal Flag*. E.E.e.e. *Positio*

NB *This Harbour is 500 Toises over in the Narrowest part of the Entrance &*

The French Landed 3000 Men

Publish'd as the Act directs March 31st 178 taken by Monsr. Suffrein the 31st August 1782.


Part of Celon
Entrance into the Harbour
Back Bay
b
Trinquamallee
d
The Main Ocean
S
N
Inner Bay
Inner Bay
Dutch Bay
a
The Peninsula
c
e
North Bay
a
Scale of 600 Yards

Woodman & Mutlow sculp.

NCES.

tion of the Enemy when they Landed 1.2.3.4. works done since the Fort was taken by the French.
& reckoned one of the best Asylums for Shipping in all Asia.
for the Attack.

f 1789.

At this period a plan was formed by Lord Macartney for making Trinquamallee a permanent poſſeſſion to the Engliſh Company; which, had it not been fruſtrated by the activity of Suffrein, would have proved the maſter-piece of the Madras governor. In purſuance of this plan Lieutenant-colonel Fullarton, an officer of moſt extended capacity and ſingular military talents, which ſeemed more the effect of natural endowment than experience, embarked with Sir Edward Hughes, for the purpoſe of commanding the garriſon of Trinquamallee, and alſo of negociating an alliance with the king of Candia, or chief emperor on the iſland of Celon; who was at this period much diſguſted with the Dutch tyranny, and might have been eaſily brought over to our intereſt, had the talents and addreſs of Colonel Fullarton had an opportunity for exertion. The accompliſhment of this important ſcheme would have rendered the ſupport of the war a matter of ſingular advantage; for, had the Company ſtudied their intereſt properly, they ſhould have aimed at this as their chief acquiſition upon their firſt eſtabliſhment in India.

Whenever the hoſtile ſquadrons got ſight of each other the moſt ſerious conſequences enſued; for no two competitors ever met that had more the intereſt of their ſovereigns at heart, or that poſſeſſed a greater ſhare of real valour and patriotiſm, than Sir Edward Hughes and the Chevalier de Suffrein. It was not their practice to ſhun each other by crafty manœuvre, but gallantly to cloſe at once, and put their ſpirits to the teſt. At this rencontre the ſquadrons conſiſted of twelve Britiſh and fourteen French ſhips of the line; which both ſpeedily drew up in battle array, and commenced in their uſual manner a bloody and deſtructive fight, that continued, without any viſible advantage on either ſide, until the approach of night put an end to the conteſt. In this action the Britiſh ſhips diſplayed extraordinary inſtances of valour, particularly the Worceſter, Monmouth, Exeter, and Iſis; but Sir Edward, who always drew up the Superb in cloſe oppoſition to Suffrein in the French Hero, battered that veſſel ſo much as to diſmaſt her, which obliged the French admiral quickly to ſhift his flag to a frigate in the rear; and the Hero muſt certainly have ſtruck, had not two freſh ſhips come up to her relief and gallantly towed her away, although warmly oppoſed by the Britiſh admiral.

The French in this action had no leſs than eleven hundred men killed and wounded; and ſeven of their captains were publicly diſgraced by Suffrein. Their fleet, in a very unmanageable condition, crowded ſail for Trinquamallee, where that night the L'Orient ſunk, and two others ſtuck upon the rocks, but were got off again after ſuſtaining conſiderable damage. Had our ſquadron been in a condition to purſue, theſe ſhips muſt have fallen into our poſſeſſion; but the Britiſh were ſo diſabled as to be totally unfit for a chaſe.

a chaſe. Three valuable officers fell in this engagement; the Honourable Captain Lumley of the Iſis, and Captains Watt and Wood, of the Sultan and Worceſter, with fifteen ſubalterns, and about three hundred and thirty men killed and wounded. Sir Edward immediately after the action ſteered for Madras, where he arrived on the 20th, and made preparations for quitting the coaſt upon account of the approaching monſoons.

The main army, under General Coote, had no ſooner pitched their camp at St. Thomas's mount, after the Arnè expedition, than a freſh enterpriſe was chalked out for them, but which proved of the ſame inutility. The important intelligence now arrived of peace having been abſolutely concluded with the Marrattas; the ratification of which had taken place at Poona in the middle of May. In this treaty it was ſtipulated that Hyder Ally with his whole force ſhould immediately evacuate the Carnatic, in failure of which both parties were to unite for his expulſion in ſix months after the date of this ratification. For the purpoſe therefore of negociating with the Miſore general, an expedition to Vandewaſh was undertaken. But Hyder Ally, finding himſelf well ſupported by his French allies, ſpurned at our propoſals; and, after a month being waſted in this fruitleſs negociation, we returned to Madras exaſperated with the haughty preſumption of this politic barbarian.

Another excurſion to the relief of Vellore ſucceeded, into which ſeven months rice was thrown upon the 5th of Auguſt; and on the 20th the army retired again to the Preſidency.

Colonel Laing was now ſent to take upon him the command in the ſouthern diſtricts, accompanied by a detachment of ſix hundred Europeans from the ſeventy-eighth and Madras regiments. Theſe went ſafely to Negapatnam by ſea, and afterwards joined the ſouthern army, which now began to appear again without the walls of Tanjore.

An extraordinary meaſure was now adopted for recruiting the Europeans of the main army, after the above detachment had departed for the ſouthward. Every means were uſed and every allurement was held out to entice the French ſoldiers who had been captured by Sir Edward Hughes to enter into the Company's ſervice. Their ſerjeant-major was firſt brought over by being appointed an officer, under whoſe ſole command they were to ſerve; and as a further encouragement, and the means of baniſhing every idea of diſtruſt, Sir Eyre Coote appointed them his own body-guard, with exemption from every other duty, he having alſo dignified them by the appellation of *Rangers*. Upwards of one hundred young fellows ſoon enliſted upon theſe terms, who, from a diſlike to their confinement at Madras, thought this would furniſh a favourable opportunity of making their eſcape.

This little corps was alſo handſomely clothed in ſerjeant's ſcarlet cloth faced with black. It is not an improbable conjecture, that the ſhameful inattention to Monſ. Suffrein's requiſition for an exchange of priſoners, in a great meaſure, proceeded from the contemplation of this ill-judged and unprecedented meaſure.

Hyder meanwhile lay encamped at Cuddalore until his army had conſumed all the forage and grain in that neighbourhood, after which he was forced to retire nearer to the paſs of Trinomaly, for the greater facility of receiving his convoys; which at this period fell far ſhort of his expectations, and indicated a great ſcarcity of grain in the Miſore country. Tippo Sahib, who had during this interval been detached to the Tanjore country, in order to put a ſtop to the progreſs of cultivation there, which promiſed for the next ſeaſon a very plentiful ſupply, was recalled to repreſent his father in the army of the allies, and watch the effect of our menaces againſt Cuddalore; the reduction of which, that this campaign might be finiſhed with ſome degree of luſtre, now occupied the whole of our thoughts. Fluſhed with this idea, the ſiege of that place was forthwith concerted, and meaſures were laid down for carrying it into immediate execution. Lord Macartney promiſed that nothing ſhould be wanting on his part to forward this expedition; and he accordingly hired for this purpoſe four or five ſhips of burthen to carry rice, battering cannon, and every other implement neceſſary for a ſiege. Sir Edward Hughes alſo engaged, while theſe operations were going forward, to amuſe Suffrein. Thus flattered with every aid that could be wiſhed for from both parties, Sir Eyre Coote began his march ſouthward upon the 26th of Auguſt, with only ten days rice for the army, and arrived upon the red hills of Pondicherry on the 4th of September, where he was to wait for further ſupplies from the rice ſhips, according to the preconcerted plan, without which it was impoſſible for the army to proceed.

Here many deſerters came in to us from the enemy; from whom we learnt that the garriſon of Cuddalore amounted to eight hundred Europeans, three hundred *Caffries*, or Africans, and ſix hundred ſepoys; who, having expelled the inhabitants and covered the walls with cannon, were determined to fight to the laſt extremity. But it was our fortune to experience a grievous diſappointment, by which they gained a reprieve; for, upon the day on which General Coote had diſtributed his laſt ratio of grain to the army at Pondicherry, Lord Macartney's rice-ſhips, which ought to have been there on the 10th, had not then paſſed Sadras—a circumſtance which obliged the General, with great reluctance, to drop this important enterpriſe.

This diſappointment ſunk ſo deep into the mind, and bore ſo hard upon the infirmities, of the venerable Sir Eyre Coote, that he was ſuddenly taken ill, and not only obliged to quit the army, but to retire to Bengal for the recovery of his health. The command of the Britiſh army in conſequence devolved upon Major-general Stuart, who began his retreat to Madras late in the evening of the 10th; which he conducted in ſuch a myſterious manner, that the ſoldiers thought themſelves flying from the greateſt and moſt imminent dangers. Even the raſcally Lootywallahs, or Miſorian huſſars, who had juſt before been meditating a general deſertion to us, now preſſed upon our flanks and rear with ſuch oſtentation and ſucceſs that great part of the baggage was taken; for which the Company never offered any compenſation either to officers or men.

The French rangers, compoſing the body-guard of the General, had no ſooner got ſight of Pondicherry than they very naturally felt an ardent deſire to ſee their old companions and countrymen again, which induced a few of them ſecretly to decamp. When they found that the army had no further intention of drawing nearer to Cuddalore, and that Sir Eyre Coote meant to return by ſea to Fort St. George, upwards of a dozen of them deſerted in a body; upon which General Stuart ordered the reſt to be diſarmed, and marched as priſoners with the army back to Madras.

On the 15th of October a moſt violent monſoon ſtorm came on at Madras, which procured us a reſpite in winter-quarters for the remainder of this year. The gale commenced about noon, and before night increaſed to a moſt furious hurricane. Some weeks before it burſt upon us a vaſt number of trading veſſels had aſſembled from all parts of the coaſt with rice for the Madras market, upon which an embargo had been laid by the Governor; from the cauſe, I preſume, of their demanding ſuch an exorbitant price for their grain, that it was impoſſible at ſuch a rate, in the preſent general ſcarcity of money, to ſupply the garriſon and army with a ſufficient winter ſtore. If this was the deſign, it ſeemed a laudable meaſure in Lord Macartney; for, though encouragement ought to be given to thoſe who ſhew an alacrity in alleviating the public neceſſity, yet an article may, with the ſelfiſh view of taking unwarrantable advantages, be greatly over-rated; and therefore a wide diſtinction is unqueſtionably to be made between the zealous and thoſe actuated only by a thirſt of gain. The chief proprietors of the ſhips at this time in the roads of Madras fell under the laſt deſcription, as they had come thither merely to avail themſelves, in the moſt unfeeling manner, of the univerſal diſtreſs that pervaded the ſettlement. Thoſe veſſels contained full ſix months rice for the whole army and inhabitants; but the owners perſiſted in keeping up their price until the vengeance of Heaven ſeemed to overtake their inhuman proceedings, the ſtorm having ſtranded no leſs than ſeventy veſſels upon the beach of Madras in one night; by which means, inſtead of *ſix months*, as was before expected, the whole ſettlement was now reduced to *ſix weeks* allowance of grain. The Britiſh ſquadron was at anchor in the road; but, upon finding the gale increaſing, immediately put to ſea. The Admiral, who on that day had been giving an entertainment on board the Superb, was under the neceſſity of carrying his company to ſea with him. On the following night that ſhip was in imminent danger of foundering, her main and mizen maſts being carried away; and ſhe was otherwiſe in ſuch diſtreſs that the Admiral was under the neceſſity of ſhifting his flag to the Sultan.

Our camp alſo experienced the dreadful effects of this violent monſoon ſtorm; for, on the following morning, thoſe of our tents that were left ſtanding appeared like a fleet of ſhips at anchor in the middle of a lake, and it was not until the water had entirely ſubſided that we conceived ourſelves wholly free from the danger of being entombed in a watery grave.

Immediately after the ſtorm had abated the army broke up camp, and marched into their uſual cantonments upon Choultry-plain and St. Thomè, as did Hyder Ally into Arcot and its environs. At this period Sir Richard Bickerton made his appearance in the roads of Madras with a reinforcement to the fleet of five line-of-battle ſhips and ten Indiamen from England, with the following troops on boards, viz. the twenty-third regiment of light-horſemen, the hundred and firſt, and part of the hundred and ſecond regiments of infantry, and the fifteenth regiment of Hanoverians; with two hundred recruits for the ſeventy-third and ſeventy-eighth regiments, and about five hundred newly-raiſed men for the Company's ſervice; moſt of whom joined the army in cantonments; after which Sir Richard Bickerton ſteered immediately for Bombay, where he arrived as ſoon as the ſquadron under Sir Edward Hughes.

However pleaſing the ſight of ſuch a reinforcement to the army might have been when in camp, yet, at the preſent alarming juncture of general diſtreſs, no circumſtance could be more unfortunate or lamentable in it's conſequences; for the ſettlement was now ſo deſtitute of proviſions that famine, with all her train of horrors, ſeemed ready to overwhelm us; and the public diſtreſs, at this gloomy period, was not a little heightened by the unceaſing contentions which agitated the government of Fort St. George.

The allowances of the army, upon the arrival of thoſe troops, were immediately retrenched to a very ſmall ratio of grain: and ſuch was the neceſſity of the times that orders were iſſued for near ten thouſand miſerable wretches to be at once ſtruck off from the domeſtic army liſt, who were thus doomed to periſh of famine upon the deſolated plains. Scenes of a more diſtreſſing nature than it is poſſible for my pen to deſcribe were now hourly preſented to view whichſoever way the eye might happen to turn. The ſtreets and roads were ſtrewed with unhappy creatures lying proſtrate upon the ground, ſwooning from weakneſs, the melancholy effect of want, or gaſping in all the horrid agonies of a lingering diſſolution. Frightful ſkeletons, trembling on the verge of fate, were ſeen ſupplicating for a morſel of food or a grain of rice; which, where the heart was moſt diſpoſed to ſympathy, it was impoſſible to grant. Some, in whoſe minds the ſway of ſuperſtition was ſtronger than the dread of death, would even prefer the latter to imagined pollution from relief tendered by the hands of an European. This ſcene exhibited the conſummation of every earthly miſery. Wretched mothers might be ſeen loaded with grief and affliction, offering to enſlave their darling children for as much rice as would only contribute to prolong their miſeries for perhaps eight dreadful days; while others were bewailing the extinction of their whole family, whoſe painful exits they were fated to witneſs as the awful harbingers of their own lingering end! The complicated ſcene of horror was ſuch as to benumb every humanized faculty of the ſoul. In the black town ſo great was the mortality that the dead bodies were too numerous to be carried off by the utmoſt exertion, and the putrid exhalations which aroſe from theſe numberleſs emaciated victims of famine, ſtrewed in every quarter of the ſettlement, became dangerous and diſtreſſing. Crows, vultures, and jackalls, allured by the ſcent of death, flocked in crowds to the ſcene, and added greatly to its horror and devaſtation.

The humanity ſhewn upon this occaſion by the gentlemen of the ſettlement, and likewiſe the Armenians, cannot be ſufficiently extolled. Many of theſe regularly fed hundreds of thoſe miſerable creatures of a day at their hoſpitable doors, and thereby reſcued numbers of them from the gripe of death. The rice which was ſold in time of peace for one penny per Engliſh pint, was now not to be had under two ſhillings and ſix pence, and three ſhillings, for the ſame quantity.

Whilſt the main army remained in cantonments at Madras, Colonel Humberſton Mackenzie endeavoured, by many noble exertions with his little force, to draw Hyder Ally's attention from the Carnatic. Soon after his landing he overthrew five thouſand of the enemy in battle, took the fort of Trincolore, and afterwards marched to Callicut. His force being augmented to about nine hundred Europeans and two thouſand Bombay ſepoys, joined by one thouſand irregulars, ſent by our ally, the king of Travancore, beſides a train of eighteen guns, he made a very bold, though hazardous, attempt to penetrate into the Miſore country to the eaſt, and, if poſſible, to take poſſeſſion of *Paligatecherry*, a fort of very conſiderable importance, as it was the key to the only paſs of general communication between the eaſt and weſt coaſts. To this place he proceeded with ſurpriſing conduct and expedition; but, when he had reached its vicinity, information was received of a ſuperior force being ready to oppoſe him, and that Hyder had diſpatched Tippo Sahib from the Carnatic, with Monſieur Lally and a formidable party, to their ſupport.

Colonel Humberſton was determined, however, to have ocular demonſtration of thoſe facts, and did not think of retiring until he ſaw that it was wholly impoſſible for his ſmall army, without battering cannon and other neceſſary implements, to carry on a ſiege with ſucceſs, although he had diſperſed all the force that had ventured to meet him in the field. A retreat was therefore reſolved on; but it had no ſooner commenced than furious attacks were made, particularly at the defiles and rivers, by multitudes of matchlock infantry and cavalry, who hung heavily upon his rear the whole way, and ſtripped his little army of all its baggage and cattle. When he had reached Pannany, Colonel Humberſton immediately took poſt and threw up entrenchments; in which, however, he had ſcarcely remained twenty-four hours before Tippo

Sahib arrived with his detachment from the Carnatic, and made a general attack upon his lines upon the 28th of November.

Colonel M'Leod, having fortunately at that inſtant arrived with the ſecond battalion of the forty-ſecond regiment, of courſe took the command; when thoſe brave Highlanders, ſupported by the reſt of this gallant little army, ſoon gave the enemy a general and complete defeat; in which Tippo was wounded in the thigh, and all his troops diſperſed.

The health of Hyder Ally had been for ſome time upon the decline, and his increaſing indiſpoſition induced Tippo to deem his preſence abſolutely neceſſary in the Carnatic at a period ſo critical and big with his future fate. He was therefore haſtening back to the main army, but before he could reach Vellore the death of his father was announced to him by a herald; and, without a ſingle opponent, or the leaſt ſymptom of the commotion uſual upon ſuch an occaſion, he was upon the 7th of December, 1782, proclaimed Nabob of Miſore, and Generaliſſimo of their armies.

During Hyder's illneſs he made ſome overtures of peace to us, with ſeeming ſincerity, as he then ſeriouſly anticipated his own diſſolution; in conſequence of which he was apprehenſive of ſome fatal commotions: but Tippo no ſooner found himſelf at the head of the Miſore army than he dropped the negociation, and gave every aſſurance to the French of his fidelity and attachment to them, and of his fixed determination to proſecute a vigorous war againſt the Engliſh.

CAMPAIGN OF 1783.

LETTER XVI.

Madras, December 1783.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AT the opening of the campaign of this year matters wore not a more favourable aſpect to us than they did at the cloſe of the laſt. Tippo Sahib, a more inveterate enemy to the Britiſh, if poſſible, than his father, continued to proſecute the war againſt us with the utmoſt vigour, in league with his firm ally the French. Monſieur Suffrein no ſooner knew that we were fairly ſettled in winter quarters, and that Sir Edward Hughes had departed for Bombay, than he ſeized the opportunity of ſailing to Achine Road, where it was agreed that the Marquis de Buſſy ſhould meet him, with a large reinforcement of ſhips and land forces from the Iſle of France, in order to make a deſcent upon our northern circars. The latter, however, failing in his aſſignation, Suffrein, after waiting for him until the 22d of December, departed from thence; and on the 15th of January, appearing off Ganjam, threw not only our whole northern ſettlements but Madras itſelf into the utmoſt conſternation. The French admiral immediately reconnoitred thoſe ſea-ports, with a firm intention of attacking them in ſucceſſion; but, juſt then hearing of Hyder Ally's death, he was induced to drop that enterpriſe for the preſent, and ſteer directly for Cuddalore, ſweeping the coaſt as he went along with impunity. At Ganjam the Coventry frigate, commanded by Captain Wolſeley, upon her way hither from Bengal, anchored during a fog in the heart of the French fleet, and, before ſhe had time to diſcover her miſtake, was forced to ſurrender to a ſeventy-four-gun ſhip that in an inſtant came along-ſide of her. Many trading ſhips from Bengal and other places were alſo at this time captured.

From Cuddalore Suffrein proceeded to Trinquamallee, where hs was ſhortly joined by Monſieur de Buſſy with three men of war and three thouſand land troops; and theſe, being with the utmoſt diſpatch reſhipped on board all the faſt-ſailing coppered veſſels, were thrown into the garriſon of Cuddalore. Two line-of-battle ſhips and two frigates were alſo ſent to cruiſe off Madras, whilſt the Naiad frigate was ſo poſted as to give ſpeedy intimation when the Engliſh fleet, then daily expected, ſhould arrive from the other coaſt.

The rains had no ſooner abated in the Carnatic than Tippo Sahib encamped his forces upon the plains of Arnè, where he was joined by about one thouſand French auxiliaries from Cuddalore. The accounts which arrived from all quarters, of the moſt ſerious preparations for a renewal of the war, ſeemed at laſt to have rouſed the Madras Council to a ſenſe of their duty, and they now began to ſee the propriety of demoliſhing thoſe uſeleſs garriſons (Carangooly and Vandewaſh) which had, during the former campaigns, occaſioned ſo much anxiety and fatigue to the troops without any material advantage ariſing from the poſſeſſion of them.

The Britiſh army was, as uſual, aſſembled at St. Thomas's Mount, commanded by Major-general Stuart. It conſiſted of the following corps, viz. the ſeventy-third, ſeventy-eighth, and one hundred and firſt regiments, a detachment of the fifteenth regiment of Hanoverians, and the Madras corps of infantry and artillery; making all together, in the European brigade, about one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty men, ten Carnatic battalions of ſepoys, five Bengal regiments of two battalions each, and four regiments of black cavalry, with ſeventy pieces of ordnance.

Before we left cantonments, two battalions of ſepoys and a detachment from the hundred and ſecond regiment were ſent to join a body of black troops, collected about Ellore, under command of Major-general Jones, which were afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the name of the northern army.

Both of the contending armies were at this time in daily expectation of conſiderable reinforcements from Europe, conſequently it was not the intereſt of either party to ſeek for an engagement; but, as General Stuart had the demolition, at all events, of Vandewaſh and Carangooly in contemplation, he thought it inconſiſtent with the Britiſh character and his own manly feelings to approach ſo near to the enemy without putting their courage to the teſt.

Our army reached Carangooly upon the 6th of February, and there great part of the baggage was left, that we might proceed lightly towards Vandewaſh; the walls of which garriſon were blown up immediately upon our arrival.

The camp of the confederate army was now clearly diſcovered from the hills, which induced the General to iſſue orders for making a rapid march towards them, with a few tents and only three days proviſions, thinking at any rate to incommode and intimidate the enemy if they did not hazard a battle. The reſidue of the baggage was left behind, under a guard, in the *Pettah*, or town of Vandewaſh. The Britiſh General advanced to Neddingull, where a branch of the Palliar river only ſeparated the two armies; and, after menacing each other for a whole day by a mutual exchange of ſome random ſhot acroſs the ſtream, General Stuart gave orders for the line to lie that night upon their arms in the ſame order of battle in which it was then drawn up; and early next morning we retraced our ſteps to Vandewaſh, cloſely purſued by vaſt numbers of the enemy's horſe and rocket-men, who killed and wounded near two hundred of our rear-guard.

From Vandewaſh the army retired to Carangooly, which was likewiſe demoliſhed; and, upon the 23d of February, we encamped at Pondamallee, finiſhing this expedition with ſome degree of ſatiſfaction, though it was attended by a conſiderable loſs, as it put an end to the periodical marches formerly made to the ſuccour of thoſe garriſons. Lieutenant Flint, who had by this time attained the brevet rank of captain merely from his gallantry, felt himſelf much relieved by this meaſure; but his ſpirited behaviour was, after his return to Madras, rewarded by threats of impriſonment from black merchants and others, formerly inhabitants of Vandewaſh, of whom he had borrowed money, on account of government, to alleviate the diſtreſſes of his garriſon, and to gratify a mutinous diſpoſition in his troops during the ſiege; to which glaring abuſe of a meritorious officer the Council of Madras ſhewed an unjuſtifiable paſſiveneſs.

During this excurſion, the hundred and firſt regiment and fifteenth battalion of Hanoverians, both new to the climate, were no leſs ſufferers, from the influence of the ſun, than thoſe corps already mentioned in the former campaigns, although indeed the Hanoverians ſeemed to ſtand the trial the beſt.

As it was yet but the beginning of the ſeaſon, another trip to Vellore ſucceeded the former; and earneſtly did we wiſh that this garriſon might ſhare the ſame fate with the other two, for it was a ſource of conſtant plague to our army. But in our advance to this place an unexpected piece of intelligence reached us, which cauſed a ſudden change in the plan of our future operations.

Since the concluſion of peace with the Marrattas the Bombay Preſidency found themſelves enabled to make with their troops much more powerful exertions in our favour than had hitherto been done; and, from ſeveral concurring circumſtances, they were now induced to make a diverſion upon the northern parts of Tippo Sahib's dominions on the Malabar coaſt, with about four hundred European infantry and artillery, and twelve hundred ſeapoys, commanded by Brigadier-general Mathews.

Commotions of an alarming nature appeared alſo at this time to have been ſtirred up againſt Tippo by ſome diſcontented Miſorian chiefs, particularly a Mahomedan named *Hayet Sahib*, who was principal governor of the rich diſtricts in the province of Beddinore, and ſaid to be an illegitimate ſon of Hyder Ally. This adventurer obſtinately refuſed to ſwear allegiance to the new ſovereign, urging; as a reaſon for his conduct, that Tippo Sahib had done him injuſtice in the diſtribution of his father's vaſt uſurpations. The Bombay Preſidency, anticipating ſome important acquiſition to the Company from the taking an advantage of theſe circumſtances, did not heſitate in forwarding this new expedition; and, had General Mathews's prudence been in any degree adequate to his aſtoniſhing ſucceſs, he might in all probability have put an honourable and advantageous concluſion to this diſtreſſing war; but it will appear in the ſequel that avarice, and an ill-grounded ambition, reduced him, from a ſtate of unexpected proſperity, to the moſt diſgraceful humiliation as well as a tragical end.

General Mathews accordingly made a movement with his little army, in the beginning of January 1783, towards that part of the Malabar coaſt, where ſucceſs was moſt likely to attend his exertions. He firſt began with the reduction of Rajamundray and Onore; where a ſurpriſing diſcovery was made of four line-of-battle ſhips, with many ſmaller veſſels, ſome of them upon the ſtocks, and others completely launched, all of which were inſtantly deſtroyed; and at both places great numbers of the enemy were alſo killed or diſperſed. He next effected a landing at Cundapore, and took it; in which was found another ſixty-four-gun ſhip upon the ſtocks, that ſhared the ſame fate with the former. Here his force was augmented to twelve hundred Europeans, and near five thouſand ſepoys, with a proportionable train of artillery, by the junction of Colonel Macleod's army from Panany. The General proceeded to the Ghaut, or paſs leading to Beddinore, through a long ridge of mountains that ſeparates part of that province from the ſea. As he advanced his dangers increaſed; for he had now to encounter with a ſteep aſcent of ſeven miles, judiciouſly ſecured by ſtrong barriers and batteries, ſome of which mounted ſixty guns, and were defended by upwards of fifteen thouſand reſolute troops; but, through the animating gallantry of Colonel Macleod with the forty-ſecond regiment, conſiſting of Highlanders, Colonel Humberſton Mackenzie with the hundred and firſt, as well as the ſpirited exertions of every individual of the army, theſe were all defeated, but not without their having made an obſtinate defence; and the General had now the ſatisfaction of finding himſelf, after ſurmounting incredible difficulties, encamped before the garriſon of Hyder-nagur, the metropolis of the province of Beddinore.

After having overcome a few ceremonious ſcruples of conſcience, and adjuſted the moſt favourable terms he could poſſibly expect; Hayet Sahib opened the gates of that great and important garriſon to the conqueror, without firing a ſingle ſhot, although it mounted upwards of ſeventy guns, and contained an immenſe ſtore of riches. Here, and in other forts, were releaſed three battalions of ſepoys that had been made priſoners in the courſe of the war.

A knowledge of this rapid and important conqueſt could not fail in a great degree to excite the apprehenſions of Tippo Sahib, eſpecially when he learnt that the *baſtard* of Beddinore, whoſe revenge he infinitely dreaded, had now revolted, and taken an active part againſt him. The Miſorian nabob immediately began to concert the moſt powerful and ſpeedy meaſures for cruſhing thoſe tumults in the bud, and alſo for checking the unexpected progreſs of General Mathews's army.

Neither the entreaties of the French, nor any other conſideration, could keep Tippo Sahib one day longer in the Carnatic. He at once retired with his whole force, in the utmoſt precipitation, through thoſe paſſes by which the Miſorians had firſt entered, determined to loſe no time in recovering the ſubjugated part of his dominions, and to put a ſpeedy end to inteſtine commotions, by inflicting the ſevereſt puniſhments upon thoſe who had reſiſted his authority. Previous to his departure, all the garriſons which he poſſeſſed in the Carnatic were blown up excepting Arnè. This place was left in charge of Sid Sahib, who had orders to attend the French at Cuddalore with two thouſand horſe; in return for which, they permitted a corps of ſix hundred Europeans, under Monſ. Coſſigny, to accompany Tippo Sahib's army upon this expedition.

Meanwhile Brigadier Mathews continued to extend his conqueſts in the diſtricts dependant upon Beddinore, having reduced the important garriſons of Mangalore, Anantpore, &c.; at the firſt of which Major Campbell with the forty-ſecond regiment was left to command: and thus, in place of deſtroying thoſe forts immediately upon their ſurrendering, he imprudently diſperſed a great part of his army in a pitiful detail for the defence of them, without ever anticipating the leaſt bad conſequence from ſuch a hazardous meaſure. Nay, ſuch was the intoxication of this man's mind, and ſo unbounded were its rapacious deſires, that he ſeemed never once to harbour a ſuſpicion of the terrible ſtorm now impending, until he beheld with amazement Tippo Sahib's whole force ſurrounding the walls of Hyder-nagur, where he himſelf was quartered with the principal diviſion of his army, which did not then exceed four hundred Europeans and twelve hundred ſepoys.

Before this unexpected change of fortune, General Mathews had ſo diſguſted his officers and men, by his ſordid and unfair diſtribution of the plunder and money taken at Hyder-nagur and other places, not only to the troops under his own command, but alſo to Hayet Sahib, that Colonels Macleod and Humberſton, with Major Shaw, were deputed by the reſt of the army to lay their grievances in perſon before the Governor and Council of Bombay; who were ſo ſatisfied with the truth of what was alleged againſt the General, that he was immediately ſuperſeded, and Colonel Macleod, advanced to the rank of Brigadier-general, appointed to ſucceed him in the command of the army. But, as theſe three officers were returning to Hyder-nagur, on board the Ranger armed ſhip of twelve guns, commanded by Lieutenant Pruin, they were overtaken in a calm, and furiouſly attacked, without any previous ſummons to ſurrender, by a fleet of Marratta pirates, far ſuperior in force to themſelves; and after a moſt deſperate fight, in which almoſt every ſoul on board the Ranger was either killed or wounded, they were at laſt overpowered by numbers, and immediately carried into Geriah; where that brave and promiſing officer, Colonel Humberſton Mackenzie, died of the wounds which he had received. Major Shaw, a gallant and ſteady veteran, was killed in the firſt onſet; and Brigadier-general Macleod, who valiantly conducted the engagement, as well as all the other gentlemen on board, was deſperately wounded.

The French troops, with Tippo's engineers, immediately began their approaches towards the garriſon of Beddinore, where they met with every oppoſition that could be ſuggeſted by men of experience and valour; but, after a council of war had been held by the General and his officers, it was agreed that they ſhould capitulate upon honourable terms.

Never was any capitulation framed with apparently greater confidence in the honour of a civilized enemy than theſe officers ſeemed now to repoſe in the precarious faith of a fickle and capricious barbarian. They inſiſted upon ‘ marching out with all the ‘ honours of war—piling their arms upon the glacis—liberty to ‘ march unmoleſted with private baggage, until they ſhould be ‘ embarked for Bombay—public ſtores not to be touched—a body‘ guard for the General, and hoſtages to be exchanged, &c. &c.’—To all which propoſals the Sultan gave a ready aſſent; but with an inward determination to obſerve them afterwards only as he ſhould think fit. The garriſon accordingly ſurrendered upon the 2d of May; but, in place of the terms of capitulation being duly fulfilled, the whole were treated with unparalleled cruelty, and ſent priſoners to the moſt remote corners of the Miſore country.

After the fall of Hyder-nagur, every other place gave way in ſucceſſion to the force and rapidity of Tippo's arms, until he arrived before Mangalore, which at length put a ſtop to his career.

Here we ſhall now leave him, and take a view of the progreſs of the ſouthern and northern armies, each of which endeavoured to enter the kingdom of Miſore from their reſpective ſtations, that they might co-operate with Brigadier Mathews.

Colonel Fullarton, paying implicit obedience to his inſtructions, advanced with the ſouthern army upon the borders of Miſore, and took Dundigull, a ſtrong hill-fort, commanding the great paſs which leads from that kingdom into the ſouthern diſtricts of Trichinopoly and Madura; as well as the forts of *Caroor* and *Daraporam*, the guardians of another frequented paſs leading to Trichinopoly by the Cavari river, and important keys to the route that ſhould be taken to Poligatcherry or Seringapatnam. After theſe ſervices had been performed he received orders to fall quickly back, that he might act in concert with the main army in a matter that was deemed of much greater importance.

The northern army, under Major-general Jones, alſo attempted at the ſame time to penetrate into that part of Tippo's dominions called Cuddapah, through the paſs of Cambam; but there they met with ſuch violent oppoſition that they were forced to fall precipitately back and take poſt; having had the ſecond battalion of ſepoys, under Captain Montgomery, totally cut to pieces, and the whole army fairly ſurrounded for a conſiderable time.

The vigilance to be kept over M. de Buſſy's motions at Cuddalore, with the want of a neceſſary portion of proviſions, were ſufficient cauſes for General Stuart's not following Tippo Sahib with the main army; and of courſe our views were now turned ſolely towards the French. The General, after having ſupplied Vellore with every thing neceſſary, accordingly took the road to Arcot, and poſſeſſed himſelf of its ruins in great form. The army ſoon after reached Madras, where we found Sir Edward Hughes juſt returned from Bombay, with a ſquadron of eighteen ſhips of the line; and on the following day Providence conducted into the roads of Fort St. George, ſafe from the deſigns of the French, who had diligently been cruizing for them off the coaſt, a fleet from Europe, under convoy of the Briſtol man of war of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Burney, conſiſting of ten Indiamen, having on board ſtores for the ſquadron, five hundred of the Company's recruits, and the ſixteenth regiment of Hanoverians.

At this period the generality of people in the ſettlement flattered themſelves with ſanguine hopes of ſeeing the war ſpeedily brought to a concluſion, as Mr. Paul Benfield, a gentleman whoſe means of intelligence were known to be both extenſive and expeditious, publicly declared, from motives the moſt benevolent, that he had juſt received over land from England certain information that Great Britain had finally concluded a peace with all the belligerent powers in Europe; and that a frigate was now upon her way with theſe glad tidings to our ſettlements in the Eaſt. Yet ſuch were the ſanguinary ideas which ſwayed the minds of our rulers, that intelligence of this importance was by no means ſufficient to poſtpone for a few months another attack upon Cuddalore; it having been decreed by our leading *oracle*, as circumſtances then appeared ſo propitious, that *one more ſacrifice* of our worthy countrymen was an act of indiſpenſable policy.

For this *laudable* purpoſe vaſt preparations were made. Our fleet was to make every exertion. Colonel Fullarton, being alſo appriſed of the general plan of operations, was ordered to withdraw his army from the frontiers of Miſore, in order to co-operate with us at Cuddalore, as ſoon as he had accompliſhed whatever enterpriſe he might be then engaged in, and to march thither whenever he ſhould learn that the main army had reached the place of their deſtination.

Before this memorable project was, however, finally agreed upon, it occaſioned much diſputation in the Council of Madras. Some would have the troops to march to the north, ſome to the weſt, and others to the ſouth; but none expreſſed the generous wiſh of delaying the execution of their deſigns in the hope of a ſpeedy confirmation of the rumours of a peace; which, conſidering the quantity of blood that had been already uſeleſsly ſpilt, would ſurely have been an act of juſtifiable humanity. How many brave and experienced officers might have been ſaved to their country and their friends by this prudent meaſure, that are now the ſubjects of lamentation to their unhappy widows, orphans, and parents!—but what will not ambition do! This recals to my remembrance the ſincere regret at this criſis, excited in every heart of our devoted army at the abſence of our late benevolent and reſpectable commander, Lieutenant-general Sir Eyre Coote, who always proved himſelf to be the ſoldier's beſt friend in never wantonly laviſhing his blood.

The attack of Cuddalore was, however, ultimately determined upon; and in conſequence Sir Edward Hughes ſailed to Trinquamallee; and the army, commanded by Major-general Stuart, proceeded ſouthward upon the 21ſt of April, by ſeparate brigades. Lieutenant-colonel Elphinſton, who had been much diſtinguiſhed during the war, for his ſteady conduct and important ſervices in the field, took the lead with the fifth brigade; and, after having made a ſweep of the country in queſt of proviſions, he poſſeſſed himſelf of Permacoil ruins, one of the intended magazines and poſts of communication; from whence he ſaw the enemy's advanced parties upon the Red hills of Pondicherry. Here the reſt of the army joined him upon the 2d of May.

While encamped upon the banks of the Palliar, we received the melancholy tidings of Sir Eyre Coote's death, which caſt a viſible damp upon the ſpirits of every individual in the Britiſh army, but particularly of thoſe who had had the honour of ſerving under his command. In him the ſoldier loſt a warm friend, and the King and Company a moſt zealous and able officer. He was upon his way from Bengal to join the army at Madras, in a veſſel which a large French cruiſer had chaſed for the greateſt part of the voyage. This circumſtance, it is ſaid, operated ſo ſtrongly upon the anxious mind of Sir Eyre Coote, as to bring on a ſtroke of the palſy, of which he died upon the 26th of April. Major-general Stuart now ſucceeded to the rank of *Commander in Chief over all the Britiſh forces in India for the time being.*

From Permacoil the army advanced to Killinore, and received a ſupply of rice from Congemeer; after which it proceeded to the Red hills of Pondicherry, where an advanced party of French topaſes * and ſepoys were ſurpriſed, of whom ſeven were made priſoners. An immenſe ſpace of time had been waſted in the neighbourhood of Permacoil and Pondicherry, waiting for the ſailing of the ſquadron, and the arrival of our ſtore-ſhips, and reinforcements under Major-general Bruce and Colonel Wangenheim, convoyed by the Iſis.

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* Topaſes are the ſons of Europeans and black women, or low Portugueſe, who are trained to arms.

It was the beginning of June before General Stuart found himſelf enabled to proceed; but at length, upon the 4th of that month, the Britiſh camp was pitched cloſe to the banks of the Pannar river, about five miles to the weſt of Cuddalore bound-hedge; behind which the French army was now deſcried in an entrenched camp, having their picket ſtationed upon the plain without, and Sid Sahib's party of horſe flying about the country, who immediately annoyed us in a very great degree.

The Britiſh General ſeemed as yet to have been undetermined upon which ſide of the garriſon his approaches ſhould be made; but, perceiving that the French were under the greateſt apprehenſions about the north and weſt faces, upon which they ſeemed to have beſtowed the moſt of their labour, General Stuart made a very judicious diverſion, and paſſed the Pannar river next morning in view of the whole French line, who never once ventured to oppoſe our paſſage, or gave us the leaſt annoyance, until our army had paſſed the Bandapollam hills, upon the 6th of June, and taken up a ſtrong camp not quite two miles from the ſouth face of Cuddalore garriſon; but we unfortunately neglected taking poſſeſſion of the bound-hedge in the intermediate ſpace betwixt our front and the fort, which was then quite unoccupied by the enemy, and would have much facilitated our approaches. The Britiſh camp was ſituated in a ſandy deſart, with its right flank covered by the ſea, and the left poſted againſt the Bandapollam hills, having its front almoſt ſcreened from the fort by plantations of Palmira trees and the bruſhwood of the bound-hedge. For a conſiderable way in our rear was a bad ſtock of forage, over which Sid Sahib's horſe kept a very watchful eye.

During the night of the 7th Monſieur de Buſſy quitted the north ſide of Cuddalore, and fixed himſelf in the ſouthern hedge, which we had negligently overlooked the day before; where he immediately began, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, to throw up ſtrong redoubts and lines of entrenchment; at the ſame time advancing his guards and pickets cloſe up to our ſentinels.

During theſe operations three or four veſſels, laden with ſtores, ſlipped out of Trinquamallee, notwithſtanding the vigilance of our fleet, and gave ſuccour to the French, although Captain Halliday, of the Iſis, who had alſo arrived with his convoy upon the 6th, kept up a very hot fire upon them even when under the guns of the beſieged. The Engliſh ſquadron upon this immediately quitted their ſtation at Trinquamallee, and repaired to our aſſiſtance at Cuddalore.

Six days had already elapſed, both armies watchful of each other; the French induſtriouſly fortifying themſelves and extending their works, and the Britiſh buſily employed in the debarkation of a detachment of the ſixteenth regiment of Hanoverians that had come by ſea under Major-general Bruce, and alſo in landing the ſtores and ammunition which had arrived in the ſame veſſel. This laſt buſineſs was conducted by Captain Moorhouſe, commiſſary of ſtores, who ſhewed indefatigable attention and alacrity in the diſcharge of his duty.

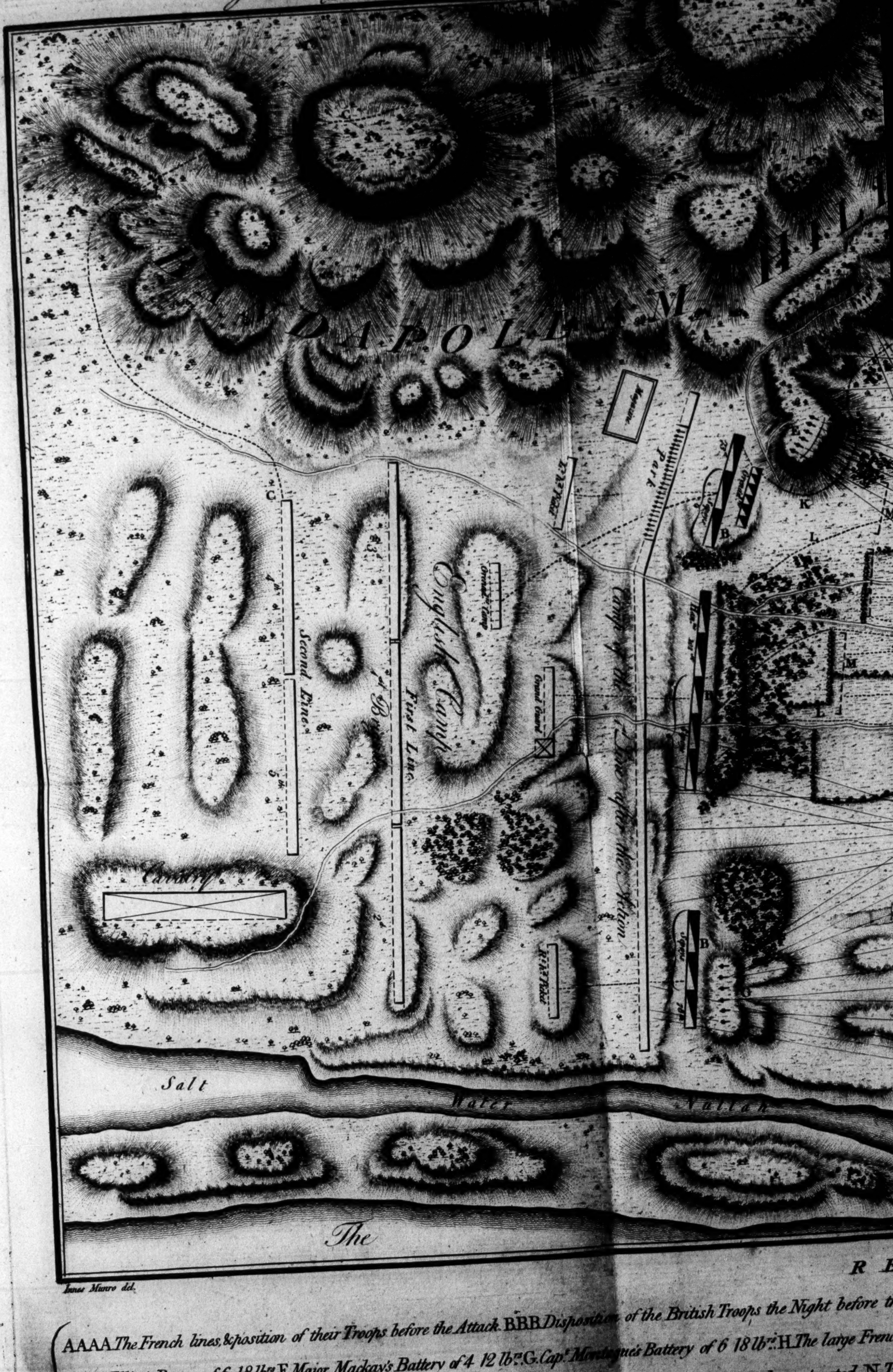
Meanwhile our field officers were kept conſtantly reconnoitring the enemy's lines; and Lieutenant-colonel Kelly paſſed ſecretly over the Bandapollam hills through almoſt impenetrable thickets, where he fully ſaw the whole diſpoſition on the enemy's right, and the conſtruction of a new battery which they had lately erected upon a commanding hill to cover that flank. As the Major retired, care was taken to mark with ſtraw all the buſhes through which he had taken his route. A general report was now carried to head-quarters, by the principal field-officers, purporting that the enemy had made ſuch progreſs in their works that no time was to be loſt in forcing them either to a general engagement, or to take refuge in the garriſon; which, from our former unaccountable overſight, now became an affair of the moſt ſerious nature; as the French force appeared, upon a nearer inſpection, to be far ſuperior to us in Europeans, and little inferior in ſepoys, with the advantage of formidable entrenchments, judiciouſly flanked by batteries full of heavy cannon.

A corps of three hundred grenadiers was immediately formed under Lieutenant-colonel Cathcart; and every thing being arranged our commander laid his plan of attack before General Bruce and the other field-officers, with the propoſal that it ſhould be carried into effect upon the following morning at day-break. A better deſign could not have been concerted; and, as it met with the approbation of all preſent, the General iſſued immediate orders for the following diſpoſition to be made: ‘ Major-general Bruce and
‘ Colonel Edmonſton to command the picket upon the right, rein-
‘ forced by the ſeventy-eighth regiment and a battalion of ſepoys
‘ from the ſecond brigade; Colonels Stuart, Cathcart, and Blane,
‘ to lead the picket upon the left, joined by the grenadiers, the
‘ ſeventy-third regiment, and two battalions of ſepoys from the
‘ third brigade; and the centre picket, or grand guard, conſiſting
‘ of one regiment of cavalry and a battalion of ſepoys, to be con-
‘ ducted by Colonels Elphinſton and Wangenheim, with Majors
‘ Verrennius and Cotgrove, joined by the hundred and firſt regi-
‘ ment, the regiment of Hanoverians, with two battalions of ſepoys
‘ from the ſecond and third brigades; the Madras regiment of
‘ Europeans, the fourth brigade, and a party of pioneers, without

‘ their

Battle of

Gained by 11.000 British Troops under Major Genl Stuart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Magazine
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English Camp
Grand Guard
Camp of the Line after the Action
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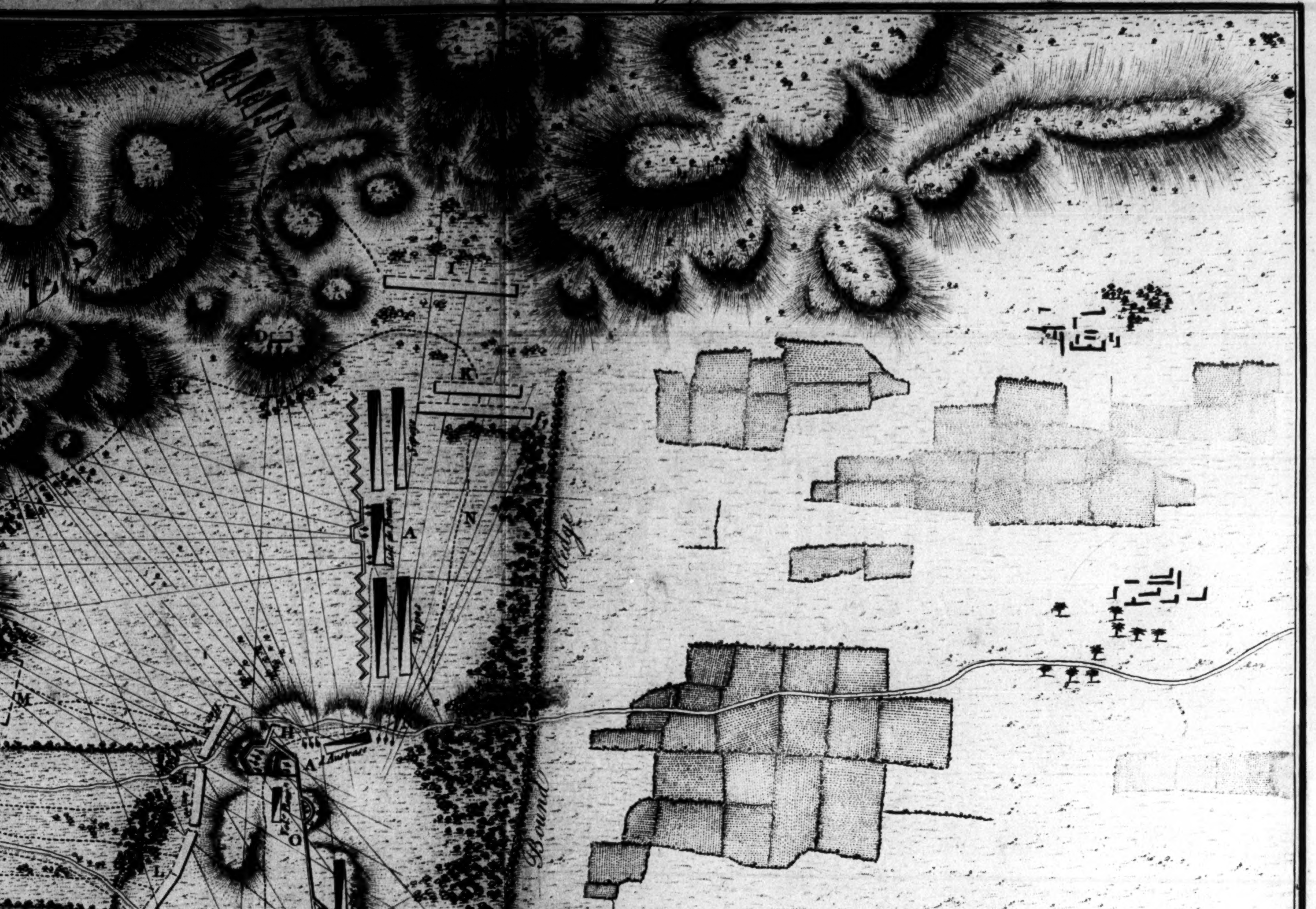
AAAA The French lines, & position of their Troops before the Attack. BBB Disposition of the British Troops the Night before t
E. Col.^l Elliot's Battery of 6 18 lb.^rs F. Major Mackay's Battery of 4 12 lb.^rs G. Capt Montague's Battery of 6 18 lb.^rs H. The large Frenc
& 73^d Reg.^mt L. Advance of the Center Devision under Col.^l Elphinston. M. Rally of the Center Devis.^n after they retreated. N. T
Q. Choultry & Tree, to which the British & French Officers resorted in the Evenings, for Conversation; after Peace was c

Publish'd

# of Cuddalore

art over 11,000 French & Misorians under Mons.r Buſsy on the 13th June, 1783.


I
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Bound Hedge
Gen.l Buſsy's Tent
New Battery 18 lb.rs
Scale 1000 Yards.
Cuddalore
Nullah
Water
Salt
The Bar
Roads

Woodman & Mutlow sculp.

FERENCES.

Attack of the Enemy's lines. C.C.C. Rout of Col.l Kelly over the hills, early in the Morning of the 13th, & his Attack of the French Battery D, upon a Hill. Redout; to which the 101.st & Hanoverians advanced. I Position of Kelly's Brigade after dispersing Tippo's Troops. K Rout & first position of the Grenadiers ; & Advance of the Grenad.rs & Highland.rs supported by the Sepoys, & Kelly's Brigade. O First Parallel of the British. P Sally by the Enemy on the 25.th uded.

Act directs March 3.rd 1789.

‘ their artillery, to be under the orders of Colonel Kelly; Colonel ‘ Gordon to command all the troops off duty, compoſing the ‘ reſerves, who were to form in front of our camp at revellie-‘ beating in the morning of the 13th; the reſt of the cavalry, ‘ under Colonel Campbell, to be ready at a call, and wait the ‘ General's orders; the artillery attached to the right wing, and ‘ the ſix-gun battery on the right, to be directed by Captain ‘ Montague; Lieutenant-colonel Elliot to command in the large ‘ battery of ſix eighteen-pounders' (which had been, during that night, ſecretly conſtructed upon a commanding ſhoulder of the hill upon our left, within eight hundred yards of the French redoubt); ‘ another, of four twelve-pounders, placed in a like ‘ ſituation further to the left, to be commanded by Major Mackay; ‘ and, laſtly, all the light field-pieces, that were formerly attached ‘ to each corps, to be under their reſpective officers.' The General himſelf thought proper to take poſt in Colonel Elliot's battery, from which he could overlook the whole ſcene of action; but, unfortunately, the ſignals intended to be made from thence for the movements of the troops were to conſiſt in the diſcharge of a certain number of guns, which, in the midſt of a cannonade, it is almoſt impoſſible to diſcriminate. The attack began at four o'clock in the morning of the 13th of June. Lieutenant-colonel Kelly, who had been ordered with his command to purſue the circuit which he had made on the preceding evening over the

Bandapollam hills, gave the firſt alarm by a briſk attack upon the exalted battery, covering Tippo's ſepoys in the enemy's right wing; upon which the Britiſh flag was inſtantly placed as a ſignal of ſucceſs. This was no ſooner perceived by Colonel Elliot and Major Mackay, than a furious opening was made from their high batteries upon a large redoubt in the centre of the French camp.

Colonel Kelly, having now turned their own guns upon them, from the height of which he had taken poſſeſſion, completely enfiladed the whole French line, and threw them into ſuch confuſion that Tippo's ſepoys ſoon diſperſed and left an opening for the grenadiers and Macleod's Highlanders to fall upon the right flank of their European line, which was now quite expoſed; whilſt the centre diviſion, under Colonel Elphinſton, attacked the large redoubt in front; and the right wing, under General Bruce, made a correſpondent movement from their ſtation.

Our left wing had moved round a part of the Bandapollam hills under a very ſevere point-blank cannonade, and lay behind a ſmall hedge upon the ground from whence Tippo's ſepoys had fled, until the hundred and firſt and Hanoverians had advanced to the attack of the redoubt in front, which kept up ſuch a furious diſcharge of round-ſhot, grape, and muſquetry, that theſe two corps, unable to ſtand againſt it, were forced to give way, even after ſome of the

Hanoverians,

Hanoverians, under Major Verrennius, and a part of the light infantry of the hundred and firſt, under Captain Cole, had gallantly mounted the breaſt-work. Here the former was killed in the act of haranguing his men, and the latter was wounded in the breaſt with a bayonet. The enemy, fluſhed with this temporary ſucceſs, ruſhed from their works in purſuit of the fugitives, when the grenadiers and ſeventy-third regiment, who were by this time rapidly advancing to the ſupport of the aſſailing battalions, availed themſelves of that imprudent ſtep by entering the redoubt from which the French had ſallied, and commencing a ſharp fire in rear of the regiment D'Auſtrauſie and others; who, now ſenſible of their error, moved confuſedly off to the next battery on their left.

Thus the whole brunt and fury of this obſtinate battle was ſuſtained by Colonel Cathcart's grenadiers and Macleod's Highlanders, under Colonel Stuart, ſupported by Colonel Blane with the reſt of the left wing and part of Kelly's brigade; who, with undaunted courage, advanced towards the enemy's left flank (which extended cloſe to the walls of Cuddalore, where now their main force had rallied), carrying every thing before them as they proceeded, though with dreadful loſs; as flanking batteries had been placed by the enemy at every convenient ſpot behind which they might retire, and that inceſſantly poured out ſmall grapeſhot and langridge, accompanied by muſquetry and grenades. Four more of theſe batteries and their guns were, however, carried by this valiant band before they halted; but, finding themſelves at laſt under the range of the guns of Cuddalore, orders were given to deſiſt from the purſuit, and to fall back to the large French redoubt; which, being ſituated upon a gentle eminence, commanded all the reſt. This bloody conteſt continued, without intermiſſion, until five o'clock in the evening, when a ceſſation of the firing took place for that night; and both lines, quite overcome with fatigue, lay upon their arms to watch the motions of each other, and to be ready for a renewal of the battle with the dawn of day.

It was the General's deſign next morning at three o'clock to have ſtormed the reſt of the French works under the guns of Cuddalore; but the enemy, taking the alarm in the night, ſuddenly abandoned their guns and batteries, and retired into the garriſon; when our troops immediately began to conſtruct a parallel to the ſouth face of the fort.

The loſs ſuſtained in this battle was upon both ſides very conſiderable. Subjoined is a ſtatement of the ſtrength of both armies at the beginning of the action, with the numbers of their killed, wounded, and priſoners.

Strength of the BRITISH *and* FRENCH *Armies.*

BRITISH.	
Europeans - -	1,660
Sepoys - - - -	8,340
Nabob's cavalry - -	1000
Effectives -	11,000
Seventy pieces of ordnance.	

FRENCH.	
Europeans - -	3,000
French ſepoys - -	3,000
Tippo's ditto - -	3,000
——— horſe - -	2,000
Effectives -	11,000
Cannon in proportion.	

RETURN *of the Killed, Wounded, and Priſoners.*

BRITISH.	Kill.	Wound.	Priſ.
King's officers - -	10	30	
Ditto rank and file -	138	347	17
Company's European officers	4	10	
Native black ditto -	6	14	
Company's Europ. rank & file	13	40	1
Sepoys - - -	52	277	1
Laſcars, or black artillery	18	42	
	241	760	19

In all 1020 killed, wounded, and priſoners.

N. B. Seventeen of the enemy's guns were taken, and ſix French officers made priſoners.

FRENCH.		Kill.	Wound.	Priſ.
Officers - -		14	25	6
Rank and file - -		116	289	35
Tippo's troops and Caffries, or Africans	361	130	314	41

In all 846 killed, wounded, and priſoners.

Both the above Statement and this account are agreeable to their own confeſſion, and they never exaggerate.

The General, in his orders of the following day, was juſtly laviſh of his encomiums and thanks to the different corps and commanders for their ſteady conduct throughout the action; particularly to Major-general Bruce, Colonels Stuart, Cathcart, and Kelly, officers of the higheſt merit; as well as to Colonels Elphinſton, Wangenheim, Pierce, Edmonſton, and Blane; and alſo to Captain Lamont, and the officers under his command, who gallantly led the *precious remains* of the ſeventy-third regiment (as the General was pleaſed to term them in public orders) through the moſt perilous road to glory, until exactly half the officers and men of the regiment were either killed or wounded.

Upon this occaſion, the ſteady and ſoldierly behaviour of the ſepoys, both of Bengal and Madras, reflected the higheſt credit and honour upon the Company's officers; as did likewiſe the cool and active conduct of their artillery. Colonel Elliot, Majors Mackay and Rigald; Captains Montague, Moorhouſe, and Slipper; were officers of that corps highly meritorious. I ſhall go no further, leſt I ſhould be induced to particulariſe a liſt of the whole army.

Amongſt the gallant officers that fell in this memorable battle, were Major Varrennius of the Hanoverians; the Honourable Captain James Lindſay and Captain Alexander Mackenzie of the ſeventy-third regiment; Captain George Mackenzie of the ſeventy-eighth; Captain Walter Douglas, deputy-adjutant-general, and Captain Peter Campbell, aid-du-camp to the Commander in chief. Amongſt thoſe wounded were Colonel Pierce, Captain J. Hamilton, ſeventy-third; Captain Cole, hundred and firſt, &c. &c.

Captain Lindſay, who had been wounded in the knee at the moſt advanced poſt, was made priſoner when the grenadiers retired to the great redoubt, and ſoon afterwards expired. He was an officer whoſe fall will ever be lamented by all who had a knowledge of his amiable qualities. It is hard to determine whether in his death ſociety or the ſervice ſuſtained the greateſt loſs; ſo engaging were his manners, ſo benevolent was his heart, and ſo conſpicuouſly promiſing were his military talents! Not even the panegyrics of our General were ſufficient to alleviate the irretrievable loſſes of the ſeventy-third regiment upon that bloody day.

The individuals of each regiment were buried on the ſpot where they fell, a ſleeve of the coat of each, with the button upon it, being left above ground by way of diſtinction. We ſoon afterwards, however, felt the greateſt inconvenience from this meaſure, when doing duty in the trenches; for during the night the jackals, allured by the ſcent of human blood, uſed to come down from the woods in numerous herds, and, opening the graves, devour their contents; as theſe happened to be cloſe to our lines, the putrid ſmell became no leſs offenſive than the myriads of flies that ſat upon them in the day-time were diſtreſſingly tormenting, and diſguſting at meal-times.

Monſieur Suffrein, with an inferior force of fifteen ſail, appeared on the 14th in the offing, and ſeemed at firſt to indicate a deſire to ſuccour Cuddalore without fighting; upon which Sir Edward Hughes, who was then at Porto Nova, where a detachment from our army had been poſted to collect proviſions, dropped down to Cuddalore, in order to prevent the execution of his deſign; but, there being hardly any wind, it was the evening of the 15th before the enemy came cloſe up to our ſquadron; and juſt at ſunſet, as both lines drew near to each other, a violent ſquall burſt from the land, which drove the Engliſh fleet, with all our ſtoreſhips, in an extraordinary manner out to ſea, while Suffrein nobly weathered the gale, and anchored next morning in the very ground which our fleet had quitted in Cuddalore roads.

The land-wind, which blew freſhly during the day, was lulled by the ſea-breeze in the morning, by which means Sir Edward always hove in ſight at that time, but was regularly met and driven back at noon by the land-wind from the oppoſite quarter. Whilſt the Britiſh admiral was thus ſtriving to regain his former ſtation, Suffrein took a reinforcement of men on board from the garriſon, and regularly weighed anchor in the morning, keeping under an eaſy ſail along the ſhore during the day, and anchoring in Cuddalore roads at night. On the 17th of June Sir Edward made great exertions to cloſe with the enemy, when Suffrein, perceiving both fleets to be parallel to each other, determined to avail himſelf of the ſtrong wind which then blew off the land in his favour, and bore gallantly down before it upon the

British

Britiſh fleet, which had hardly got into battle array before a ſharp action was commenced, about four o'clock in the afternoon, in ſight of both armies, and not above a league diſtant from the ſhore.

As Sir Edward had hitherto been ſo ſucceſsful with an inferior fleet, it was natural for us to entertain ſanguine hopes of a victory from eighteen ſail againſt fifteen; but, although we had the advantage in ſhips, the enemy were far ſuperior to us in men, for the Britiſh fleet was almoſt half manned by Indians, and an unfortunate ſickneſs alſo prevailed amongſt the ſeamen; which, with the want of water, obliged Sir Edward, after bravely maintaining the fight under every diſadvantage till night came on, to ſteer for Madras. This occaſioned a great diſappointment to General Stuart and the army, who were thereby left entirely to work out their own deliverance.

This being the laſt naval engagement betwixt the Britiſh and French ſquadrons in India, I beg to be indulged in taking a curſory view of the conduct and reſources of the two contending admirals in the courſe of the war, that you may be prepared to paſs an impartial opinion upon this ſubject.

The diſadvantages under which Sir Edward Hughes laboured in the proſecution of the war, may be eaſily ſeen by any perſon who will take the trouble of inveſtigating them. He gallantly fought, without an ally, or ſcarcely any other reſource but what his own ingenuity furniſhed, againſt the moſt expert admiral of France, who was liberally ſupported by the Dutch and Hyder Ally; and engaged in a cauſe ſo deſperate, that he had nothing to loſe but his ſhips and men, and with the latter he was regularly and plentifully reinforced from the Iſle of France. On the other hand, Sir Edward Hughes had a moſt extenſive territory to protect in every quarter of India, with a great inferiority of ſhips, and a ſtill greater of ſeamen, his fleet never having been furniſhed with a ſingle ſeaman from Britain, excepting thoſe preſſed from the outward-bound Eaſt-Indiamen, the number of which was ſo very inadequate for the ſupply of his loſſes by ſickneſs and battle, that, during a great part of the war, but particularly in the laſt engagement, Sir Edward was obliged to ſubſtitute wretched *laſcars* for *Britiſh ſailors*, who formed at leaſt a fourth part of his complement. Though labouring under ſuch evident diſadvantages, he not only maintained his ground but boldly ſought his foes, and gave them ſuch repeated diſcomfitures that nothing important could be effected by their land forces. No leſs than ſeven ſea captains were ſent in extreme diſgrace to France by the gallant Suffrein, (ſome of whom, it is ſaid, are ſtill in the Baſtile) on account of their miſconduct *.

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* After an enumeration of ſuch important ſervices, it will perhaps be matter of aſtoniſhment to many to learn, that the Eaſt-India Company have never had the juſtice or gratitude to thank Sir Edward Hughes for having ſo gallantly protected their ſettlements, which were undoubtedly in a very material degree ſaved from annihilation by his valour, his vigilance, and truly patriotic example.

In this deplorable condition above-deſcribed, without the neceſſary means for conducting the ſiege, and almoſt deſtitute of every neceſſary of life, we had the additional mortification to behold the whole of Monſieur Suffrein's ſquadron come to anchor in Cuddalore roads; from which, on the following morning, a ſtrong detachment was debarked to act as a *ſortee* at this period concerted.

Meanwhile no induſtry was ſpared on our part in forming the firſt parallel, a battery being completed upon each flank of it, with two in the centre, before the 25th. At three o'clock on that morning, whilſt Colonels Gordon and Cathcart commanded in the trenches, the enemy, as had been expected, made a ſally of three different attacks, with fifteen hundred Europeans and as many ſepoys; but they were bravely repulſed by the European and black troops in our trenches; who, though prodigiouſly haraſſed by fatigue, ſhewed them a reſolute and ſteady countenance, particularly the twenty-fourth regiment of Bengal ſepoys, commanded by Captain Williamſon, who were at the time hard at work in the trenches; but, upon the firſt alarm, they quickly exchanged the ſhovel for the muſquet, and bravely received a French regiment upon their bayonets, with whom they maintained a manly ſtruggle in the defence of one of their banners, which, during the conteſt, was taken off. Four French officers, with fifty privates, were killed in the trenches; and the Colonel Commandant of the ſally, with other four officers and eighty of the enemy's privates, were made priſoners. We had on our part four officers, with ſeventy privates, killed and wounded, and one officer made priſoner. Of the former was Major Cotgrove, of the Company's ſervice, a brave and ſteady officer; and Captain Williamſon, of the Beagal ſepoys, was amongſt the wounded.

Our army now ſeemed truly devoted; for this ſkirmiſh was no ſooner over than we received information that another attack, of a far more formidable and alarming nature, had been concerted by the enemy, and was to take place upon the 4th of July. It was to conſiſt of every European and ſepoy that could be muſtered from both their fleet and army. One diviſion was to proceed in boats up that ſmall inlet of the ſea which covered the right of our line, and to fall with all their vigour upon the right flank of our camp and baggage, whilſt a ſtill more formidable body was to uſe every effort to penetrate our lines of entrenchment, both afterwards intending to unite their force againſt our park of artillery; which they concluded, with good reaſon, would fairly complete the overthrow of the Britiſh army.

Our alarms, upon this awful intelligence, may be more eaſily imagined than deſcribed; but, fortunately, while we were in this

manner

manner ſtruggling hard for the ſuperiority in the Eaſtern world, and apparently upon the verge of annihilation, (as Mr. Benfield had humanely appriſed us) a frigate arrived, upon the 1ſt of July, in Cuddalore roads, that had come from England with the welcome tidings of peace with France and the other belligerent powers of Europe having been ratified; in conſequence of which hoſtilities immediately ceaſed betwixt the Britiſh and French, and we now became as cordial friends as we had recently been bitter enemies.

When Meſſrs. Sadlier and Stanton (the firſt a member of the Council of Madras, and the laſt civil ſecretary to the Governor) intimated peace to the Marquis de Buſſy, they at the ſame time brought orders from the Preſidency for General Stuart to repair thither with the return of the frigate, in order, as it was reported, to account for ſome late miſconduct with which he was charged; and which, from the cavalier manner of his being taken from his high command and conducted on board the ſhip, there was reaſon to ſuppoſe to be of a heinous nature; as ſome French officers obſerved who happened to be preſent at his embarkation. General Bruce choſe alſo to return to the Preſidency by the ſame conveyance.

The ſiege of Cuddalore was no ſooner ended than the ſouthern army, which had been then upon its march to our aſſiſtance, was remanded to its former ſtation upon the frontiers of Miſore, and reinforced by all the Europeans of our army (excepting the ſeventy-third regiment), with five battalions of Carnatic ſepoys, and a large proportion of artillery, under the command of Colonels Stuart, Elphinſton, and Kelly.

The tidings of peace afforded a providential reſpite to the army at Cuddalore, who had ſuffered greatly from fatigue, and were ſo miſerably furniſhed with proviſions, that they had ſcarcely any other food to eat than the gun-bullocks than were killed by the enemy's ſhot, or which accidentally died for want of forage, with an occaſional ſupply of coarſe buffalo-beef little better than tough bull's fleſh. Such was the ſcarcity of all ſorts of liquors that a bottle of bad arrack ſold currently for two and three pagodas, equal to twenty-four ſhillings ſterling; which was, however, indiſpenſably neceſſary to qualify the brackiſh water found in our camp.

When bullocks could be provided for the guns, to ſupply the great mortality that had prevailed during the ſiege, our army, now commanded by Colonel Gordon, decamped from Cuddalore upon the 2d of Auguſt, and in fourteen days after reached St. Thomas's mount, where we found the thirty-ſixth and fifty-ſecond regiments, under Major-general Campbell and Colonel Strabenſie, juſt arrived from Europe.

The army under General Macleod, upon the Malabar coaſt, was at this time ſtrongly reinforced by a detachment, ſent by ſea from the Preſidency of Madras, conſiſting of about one thouſand Britiſh and Hanoverian troops under the command of Colonel Gordon.

Colonel Fullarton had no ſooner re-occupied Caroor and Daraporam than he received orders to deſiſt, at preſent, from further hoſtilities, as a negociation for peace was on foot with Tippo Sahib then before Mangalore with his army; but he was enjoined to make every poſſible preparation for a vigorous renewal of the war, ſhould that be found neceſſary.

With ſo ſtrong a reinforcement the ſouthern army had now become very formidable; and it is but juſtice to Colonel Fullarton to obſerve, that no officer could have diſplayed more judgment and exertion in putting the military departments under him upon a reſpectable and ſerviceable footing, in which he was ſtrenuouſly aided by Meſſrs. Sullivan, Irwin, and Hippeſley, the civil overſeers in thoſe diſtricts. There the military commander and civil governors went hand in hand upon all occaſions, and conſequent ſucceſs attended every enterpriſe; a circumſtance which reflected equal honour upon the zeal and cordiality of both parties.

The truce remained ſo long undecided that Colonel Fullarton found it impoſſible to ſubſiſt his army without borrowing food from his neighbours, which the ſtate of his finances did not afford the ability of repaying; but, juſt as he found himſelf reduced to a ſtate of great perplexity, a meſſenger arrived from the Malabar coaſt with certain information that Tippo had paid no regard to the armſtice, but had commenced hoſtilities afreſh upon Mangalore; upon which Colonel Fullarton thought himſelf at liberty to retaliate. The ſouthern army conſequently likewiſe renewed hoſtilities with no leſs an object in view than the conqueſt of Seringapatnam; to which end they made very important and ſucceſsful ſtrides, having penetrated the enemy's country for a conſiderable way to the north-weſt, and reduced ſeveral ſtrong forts of communication on the road to *Poligatcherry*: againſt which important garriſon it has been already related that Colonel Humberſton Mackenzie had made a daring, though fruitleſs, attempt. Colonel Fullarton's army, however, now reached it after much labour and fatigue; and, in the proſecution of a well-digeſted and judicious plan of operations, it was beſieged and reduced in a very ſhort time. In this enterpriſe the Honourable Captain Maitland, of the ſeventy-eighth regiment, who commanded a corps of ſelected grenadiers in the ſouthern army, bore a conſpicuous part. The 13th of November was the day upon which the batteries played upon Poligatcherry; and on that night Captain Maitland, being in the trenches with part of his

grenadiers, availed himſelf of a heavy ſhower of rain, and drove the beſieged with great briſkneſs from the covered way, purſuing them ſo cloſely that his party entered the principal gates along with the enemy; and being immediately followed by a reinforcement of our troops, the garriſon, thus ſurpriſed, was forced to ſurrender at diſcretion.

But whilſt Colonel Fullarton was thus gallantly retrieving our loſt reputation, and proſecuting certain means for the accompliſhment of an honourable and advantageous peace, he received freſh orders to deſiſt from his purſuits, and to evacuate all thoſe valuable poſſeſſions which had taken ſuch labour in the attainment, excepting the fort of Dundigull. Accordingly the Colonel, though reaſonably with great reluctance, fell back to Trichinopoly to wait the event of a freſh negociation with Tippo; where he remained in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe for a conſiderable time.

Though it is by no means my intention in this correſpondence to dive into politics, and enter into the inteſtine diſputes incident to an ill-regulated government, yet, in juſtice to his Majeſty's ſervice, I cannot refrain from narrating a few circumſtances which, to every Britiſh officer then in India, appeared to be an uſurped ſtretch of authority, as well as a great indignity offered to his Majeſty, and his troops ſerving in defence of the Carnatic; who, it may juſtly be ſaid, have contributed, in the courſe of the war, an extraordinary ſhare of exertion for the ſalvation of the Company's territories.

Soon after the army returned to Madras Sir John Burgoyne, for the firſt time, came to command in camp, accompanied by his regiment of light dragoons; whoſe treatment, ſince their arrival, I cannot help dwelling a little upon, in order to ſhew how far the India Company have merited that paternal care and protection which his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to extend to their ſettlements.

The Company, being convinced early in the war how eſſential a corps of European cavalry would be in the conteſt with Hyder Ally, obtained the order of government for this regiment of light horſemen to embark for India; and, though they were appriſed of its deſtination at Madras long before the regiment arrived, no care was taken to provide horſes for them that they might be the ſooner ready to act in the field: this buſineſs having been ſhamefully deferred until the corps had been five months in the country, when General Coote at laſt ſent round by land four hundred dragoon horſes from Bengal; which, by theſe neglects, had only got into proper training as the war was at a cloſe. Three hundred and ſixty of this ſightly corps landed in Madras fit for duty; and they had been flattered with the idea of receiving from thoſe in power the moſt generous encouragement; but, inſtead of that being the caſe, the firſt

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quarters into which they had been uſhered were ſuffocating bomb-proofs, from whence three or four hundred French priſoners, infected with various peſtilential diſeaſes, had been recently removed. The conſequence was ſuch as might naturally have been expected. A fatal mortality ſo much prevailed in the corps that no leſs than two or three of them were ſent daily to their graves. Such was Sir John Burgoyne's mortification at this unexpected treatment, joined to other diſappointments, that he diſplayed more zeal in maintaining the rights and dignity of his Majeſty's troops upon this occaſion than was, perhaps, conſiſtent with prudence; particularly when we conſider the deaf ear that was given to his well-founded complaints, and the ſhameful dereliction of that ſupport which he had a right to expect from thoſe in authority in England.

Sir John Burgoyne had exerciſed the ſupreme power in our camp but a ſhort time, when he was torn from his command by a ſpirit of diſſenſion and cabal, which now raged like a contagion throughout the whole Preſidency; and, in the end, infected the camp. General Stuart's affair was again brought upon the carpet, marked with ſuch virulence and perſecution, that he was ſoon publicly diſmiſſed from the Company's ſervice; and Lord Macartney's power at the ſame time ſoared ſo high, that he even aſſumed an abſolute authority over the king's troops; under the colour of which, General Stuart was, after being publicly diſmiſſed from the

Company's ſervice, violently ſeized by a party of ſepoys, when at his own country-houſe on Choultry-plain (full ſix miles diſtant from the army), and carried a cloſe priſoner into Fort St. George. He was there denied the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, or even an interview with a friend, unleſs an orderly officer was preſent to overhear and report his converſation. Colonel Laing of the Company's ſervice was at the ſame time advanced to the rank of *Lieutenant-general*, that he might command the army over Major-generals Stuart, Burgoyne, Campbell, and Ogle, &c. of his Majeſty's ſervice. A procedure ſo irregular and invidious proved naturally productive of much perplexity and diſſatisfaction amongſt the king's officers: ſome withdrawing themſelves from camp, whilſt others vainly attempted to maintain the dignity and authority of their ſtation.

Theſe events were ſoon followed by a relaxation of diſcipline; the ſoldiers, in general, not knowing the ſource of command, nor the reſidence of legal authority, became turbulent and impatient of control; whilſt others again loudly murmured to ſee ſuch unuſual diviſions and anarchy prevail amongſt their leaders. In this ſtate of confuſion, the Governor deemed it prudent to draw up the bridges and ſhut the gates of Fort St. George; and, had it not been for the cordiality and good fellowſhip which univerſally ſubſiſted betwixt the King's and Company's officers, who had ſhared

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the fatigues of war together, notwithſtanding the artful ſteps that had been taken to ſow the ſeeds of diſſenſion amongſt them, theſe broils might have terminated in a manner very fatal to the ſettlement.

General Burgoyne was next arreſted, and accuſed of all the heinous crimes that could be ſuggeſted*; whilſt General Stuart was conducted by a guard of ſepoys to the ſhore, in a manner very unbecoming the rank of a commander in chief, put on board of a country veſſel, (which every perſon deemed dangerouſly leaky,) and ſent a cloſe priſoner to England.

How far Lord Macartney was juſtifiable in theſe proceedings, I leave others to determine. All I have to ſay is, that I never yet heard of any ſpecific crime being publicly laid to the charge of General Stuart; and the treatment which he experienced was ſuch as ought only to brand the conduct of the moſt guilty criminal.

Such was the unhappy condition of the Preſidency at Fort St. George, and the ill-regulated ſtate of the army, when Tippo Sahib's ambaſſador arrived to treat about peace.

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* Upon General Dalling's arrival at Madras, as commander in chief upon the Coromandel coaſt, he carried out orders from the King for a board of general officers to ſcrutinize the conduct of General Burgoyne, by which he was moſt honourably acquitted of every charge that the moſt inveterate malice could adduce againſt him.

Upon this event, the main army, then encamped at the Mount, marched into winter quarters, in the environs of Madras; as did the ſouthern forces in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly. The northern detachment, under General Jones, after being for ſome time ſurrounded in their camp, were permitted to retire into cantonments in Ellore; and thus ended the operations of 1783.

LETTER XVII.

Madras, May 1784.

THIS year opened with the moſt flattering hopes of a ſpeedy pacification. The troops remained in quarters after the uſual period of taking the field, whilſt the negociation with Tippo Sahib's vakeel was carrying on at Madras; and, after many conferences with that plenipotentiary, the Governor determined that an embaſſy ſhould be ſent to the Nabob himſelf, to ſupplicate a ſpeedy peace upon the beſt terms that could poſſibly be obtained.

Before the ceſſation of hoſtilities, Tippo had been far advanced in his attack upon the garriſon of Mangalore, having gained the covered-way and made a practicable breach in the wall; and while things were in that ſtate did the Sultan and Colonel Campbell agree to an armiſtice. Each kept poſſeſſion of his own works, and one hundred men were exchanged as hoſtages. The Miſorian chief engaged to furniſh the Britiſh garriſon with proviſions, upon their paying for the ſame, whilſt they ſhould remain in that ſituation; but he ſoon fell off ſo much from his agreement, and what he had ſupplied had been ſo prodigiouſly over-rated, that towards the month of January they were reduced to the neceſſity of living upon frogs, and ſuch other vermin as could be found in the ditch. The extent of their diſtreſs may be eaſily imagined from this circumſtance—that a crow, which might be accidentally ſhot in flying over the garriſon, was at laſt currently ſold for five rupees, or ten ſhillings ſterling. Such was the calamitous ſituation of the brave Colonel Campbell and his undaunted garriſon when the Engliſh deputies were diſpatched to negociate about peace!

Meſſrs. Sadlier and Stanton, with a guard of cavalry, under Captain Thomas Dallas, (an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit,) and ſeveral hundred coolies laden with a ſupply of ſlops for our European priſoners, were diſpatched upon this ſervice: but Tippo, intoxicated by his ſucceſſes, and eagerly bent upon the reduction of Mangalore by famine, let a conſiderable ſpace of time elapſe before he would condeſcend to liſten to the overtures humbly offered on the part of the Engliſh. Some commotions alſo aroſe at this period in Tippo Sahib's camp, excited by Kirham Sahib and his adherents, which terminated in the death of Mahomed Ally his principal general, and many others of the conſpirators. Differences in opinion, warmly conteſted betwixt our own plenipotentiaries, after they had almoſt reached the Malabar coaſt, added to the above cauſes, tended much to retard the progreſs of this negociation; and,

in conſequence of the latter occaſion of delay, a third gentleman (Mr. Huddleſton) was joined in the commiſſion with the two former, to act with them as umpire in their impolitic diſputes. Tippo, however, found means to accompliſh his own wiſhes by the moſt deceitful infraction of the armiſtice. Colonel Campbell, often tantaliſed by the frequent appearance of a ſupply and reinforcement, but which never reached him, ſaw that now the hopes and exemplary patience of his brave ſoldiers were completely exhauſted; and, being reduced to their very laſt ratio of proviſions, was forced to ſurrender Mangalore, upon the condition of his troops being ſent, with all the honours of war, to join General Macleod's diviſion at Tillicherry; which terms, as peace ſeemed now cloſe at hand, Tippo deeming unworthy of violation, were adhered to; and thus ended a ſiege, in which Colonel Campbell, and the troops under his command, acquired the higheſt ſhare of military glory; but unfortunately that brave officer, worn out with fatigue, did not long live to enjoy his juſtly-merited applauſe, he ſoon afterwards dying at Bombay.

The army under General Macleod was likewiſe at that time ſo hard puſhed for an exiſtence, as to be under the neceſſity (after having fruitleſsly uſed every entreaty, and made liberal offers of money, for a ſupply of proviſions) of deſperately attacking Cannanore, in a manner a neutral garriſon, though warmly attached to the Miſorian intereſts; which place was carried with the loſs of one hundred Europeans killed and wounded, and afterwards plundered of money and proviſions.

The Governor of Madras, finding ſo little attention paid to his deputation, and that much time was waſted to no kind of purpoſe, judged it expedient that the main army ſhould again take the field, in order to enforce the terms propoſed, as well as to divert the attention of the ſoldiers, who, during their inactivity in winter-quarters, had begun to call out loudly for the payment of their arrears, which they juſtly thought might be cleared off towards the concluſion of the war, wiſely judging from experience that, when no further ſervice was required of them, little attention would be paid to their claims, however juſt they might be.

The army was therefore aſſembled at St. Thomas's Mount, under the command of Lieutenant-general Laing. At this period a comet of uncommon magnitude and ſplendour made its appearance in our hemiſphere. Comets are ſaid to portend ſome important revolution in human affairs. From this, ſuperſtition might have anticipated ſome ſtriking event, as it aroſe for ſeveral nights ſucceſſively in the ſouth-eaſt quarter, directing its courſe with much brilliancy to the weſtward, where it faded from our view. From the Mount, the army ſoon afterwards advanced to Arcot.

Tippo,

Tippo, after having led the Britiſh deputies in the moſt contemptuous manner from place to place, at laſt condeſcended to grant them an audience at Mangalore, in the preſence of all the foreign ambaſſadors at his court; whom, it is ſaid, he haughtily requeſted to bear witneſs that he had reduced the Engliſh to implore for peace at his hands. Thus, after a ſeries of events too mortifying to be repeated, or even to be reflected upon, the follow- treaty of peace was finally ſettled and concluded at Mangalore on the 11th of March, 1784.

Captain Dallas immediately made a circuit through the Miſore priſons, and conducted two hundred European officers, and one thouſand one hundred privates, with about two thouſand ſepoys and others, out of a moſt wretched ſtate of captivity; in much better health, however, than could have been expected from the treatment which they had received. It was alleged that three Madras officers and five midſhipmen, with about two hundred European privates, whom he had converted to Mahomedaniſm, were ſecreted by Tippo Sahib for his own ſervice, as no account could ever afterwards be got of them.

TREATY *of perpetual Peace and Friendship between the Honourable the* ENGLISH EAST-INDIA COMPANY, *and the Nabob* TIPPO SULTAN BAHAUDER, *on his own behalf, for the countries of* Seringapatam, Hyder-nagur, *&c. and all his other possessions: settled by* Anthony Sadlier, George Leonard Stanton, *and* John Huddleston, *Esqrs. on behalf of the Honourable* ENGLISH EAST-INDIA COMPANY, *for all their possessions, and for the Carnatic* Payen Ghaut, *by virtue of powers delegated to the Right Honourable the President and Select Committee of* Fort St. George *for that purpose, by the Honourable the Governor-general and Council, appointed by the King and Parliament of* Great-Britain *to direct and contract all political affairs of the Honourable* ENGISH EAST-INDIA COMPANY *in India, and by the said Nabob, agreeably to the following Articles, which are to be strictly and invariably observed, as long as the Sun and Moon shall last, by both parties; that is to say, by the* ENLISH COMPANY *and the Three Governments of* Bengal, Madras, *and* Bombay, *and the Nabob* TIPPO SULTAN BAHAUDER.

ARTICLE I.

PEACE and friendship shall immediately take place between the said Company and the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder, and their friends and allies, particularly including therein the Rajahs of Tanjore and Travencore, who are friends and allies to the English, and the Carnatic Payen Ghaut; also Tippo Sultan's friends and allies, the Bibby of Cannanore, and the Rajahs, or Zemindars, of the Malabar coast, are included in this treaty. The English will not directly, or indirectly, assist the enemies of the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder, nor make war upon his friends or allies; and the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder will not directly, or indirectly, assist the enemies, nor make war upon the friends or allies, of the English.

ARTICLE II.

IMMEDIATELY after signing and sealing the Treaty by the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder, and the three Commissioners, the said Nabob shall send orders for the complete evacuation of the Carnatic, and the restoration of all the forts, and places in it, now possessed by his troops, (the fort of Amboor-gur, and Sat-gur excepted;) and such evacuation and restoration shall actually and effectually be made in the space of thirty days from the day of signing the treaty; and the said Nabob shall also, immediately after signing the Treaty, send orders for the release of all the persons who were taken and made prisoners in the late war, and are now alive, whether European or native; and for their being safely conducted to, and delivered at, such English forts or settlements as shall be nearest to the places where they now are; so that the said release and delivery of the prisoners shall actually and effectually be made in thirty days from the day of signing the Treaty. The Nabob will cause them to be supplied with provisions and conveyances for the journey, the expense of which shall be made good to them by the Company. The Commissioners will send an officer or officers to accompany the prisoners to the different places where they are to be delivered; in particular, Abdal Wahal Cawn, taken at Chittor, and his family, shall be immediately released, and if willing to return to the Carnatic, shall be allowed to do so. If any person or persons, belonging to the said Nabob, and taken by the Company in the late war, be now alive, and in prison in Bencoolen, or other territories of the Company, such person or persons shall be immediately released, and, if willing to return, shall be sent, without delay, to the nearest fort or settlement in the Misore country. Budrapah, late Amuldar of Poligatcherry, shall be released, and at liberty to depart.

ARTICLE III.

Immediately after ſigning and ſealing the Treaty, the Engliſh Commiſſioners ſhall give written orders for the delivery of Onore, Canawar, and Sadaſheraguda, and forts or places adjoining thereto, and ſend a ſhip or ſhips to bring away the garriſons. The Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder will cauſe the troops in thoſe places to be ſupplied with proviſions and other neceſſary aſſiſtance for their voyage to Bombay (they paying for the ſame.) The Commiſſioners will likewiſe give at the ſame time written orders for the immediate delivery of the forts and diſtricts of Caroor, Auravacourchy, and Davaraporum; and, immediately after the releaſe and delivery of the priſoners as before mentioned, the fort and diſtrict of Dindigul ſhall be evacuated and reſtored to the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder, and none of the troops of the Company ſhall afterwards remain in the countryof the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder.

ARTICLE IV.

As ſoon as all the priſoners are releaſed and delivered, the fort and diſtrict of Cananore ſhall be evacuated and reſtored to Ali Rajah Bibby, the queen of that country, in the preſence of any one perſon, without troops, whom the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder may appoint for that purpoſe; and, at the ſame time, that the orders are given for the evacuation and delivery of the forts of Cananore and Dindigul, the ſaid Nabob ſhall give written orders for the evacuation and delivery of Amboor-gur and Sat-gur to the Engliſh, and in the mean time none of the troops of the ſaid Nabob ſhall be left in any part of the Carnatic, except in the two forts abovementioned.

ARTICLE V.

After the concluſion of the Treaty, the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder will make no claim whatever in future on the Carnatic.

ARTICLE VI.

All perſons whatever, who have been taken and carried away from the Carnatic Payen Ghaut, which includes Tanjore, by the late Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn Bahauder, who is in heaven, or the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder, and willing to return, ſhall be immediately allowed to return with their families and children, or as ſoon as may be convenient to themſelves; and all perſons belonging to Vinkittygary Rajah, who were taken priſoners in returning from the fort of Vellore, to which place they had been ſent with proviſions, ſhall alſo be releaſed and permitted immediately to return. Liſt of the principal perſons belonging to the Nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn Bahauder, and to the Rajah of Vinkittygary, ſhall be delivered to the Nabob Tippo Sultan's miniſters; and the Nabob will cauſe the contents of this article to be publicly notified throughout his country.

ARTICLE VII.

This being the happy period of general peace and reconciliation, the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder, as a teſtimony and proof of his friendſhip to the Engliſh, agrees that the Rajahs or Zemindars, on this coaſt, who have favoured the Engliſh in the late war, ſhall not be moleſted on that account.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder hereby renews and confirms all the commercial privileges and immunities given to the Engliſh by the late Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn Bahauder, who is in heaven, and particularly ſtipulated and ſpecified in the Treaty between the Company and the ſaid Nabob, concluded the 8th of Auguſt, 1770.

ARTICLE IX.

The Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder ſhall reſtore the Factory and privileges poſſeſſed by the Engliſh at Callicut, until the year 1779 (or 1193 Hegyra); and ſhall reſtore Mount Dilly, and its diſtrict, belonging to the ſettlement of Tillicherry, and poſſeſſed by the Engliſh till taken by Surdar Cawn at the commencement of the late war.

ARTICLE X.

The Treaty ſhall be ſigned by the Engliſh Commiſſioners, and a copy of it ſhall afterwards be ſigned and ſealed by the Preſident and Select Committee of Fort St. George, and returned to the Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder in one month, or ſooner if poſſible; and the ſame ſhall be acknowledged under the hands and ſeals of the Governor-general and Council of Bengal, and the Governor and Select Committee of Bombay, as binding upon all the governments in India, and copies of the Treaty ſo acknowledged ſhall be ſent to the ſaid Nabob in three months, or ſooner if poſſible.

In Teſtimony whereof, the ſaid contracting parties have ſigned, ſealed, and interchangeably delivered, two inſtruments of the ſame tenor and date; to wit, the ſaid three Commiſſioners on behalf of the Honourable Engliſh Eaſt-India Company, and the Carnatic Payen Ghaut; and the ſaid Nabob Tippo Sultan Bahauder on his own behalf, and the dominions of Seringapatnam, and Hydernagur, &c. Thus executed at Mangalore, otherwiſe called Codial Bunder, the 11th day of March, and year 1784 of the Chriſtian æra, and 18th day of the moon Rabenlſany, in the year of Hegyra 1198.

After

After the garriſon of Arnè had been evacuated by Sid Sahib in conſequence of the above treaty, it was determined to ſtation, for the preſent, all the cavalry of our army at that place. They were accordingly ordered thither entirely by themſelves, without the Council having once thought of advancing them a few months pay for the liquidation of their camp debts, and to enable them to carry their families along with them; a conſideration which, reſpecting thoſe people, ought never to be overlooked. The conſequence of this omiſſion was, that they had no ſooner gotten poſſeſſion of Arnè garriſon than they ſhut the gates, and bid defiance to our whole army; threatening their European officers with inſtant death if they did not immediately procure all the arrears due to them by the Company; the whole four regiments of cavalry, and two hundred light infantry that attended their guns, propoſing afterwards to join Tippo Sahib's army.

In this mutinous ſtate they continued tampering with the government and army for upwards of a fortnight; during which time their European officers were expoſed to the ſun the whole day long, and treated with the utmoſt ſeverity, the mutineers thinking thereby to accompliſh their point; but General Laing at laſt received orders to march ſuddenly againſt them; upon which, having no alternative, they ſurrendered at diſcretion. Twelve of the unfortunate ringleaders (ſome of whom happened to be black officers) were ſelected for the purpoſe of being made immediate examples of, and were blown from the muzzles of cannon in the face of the whole army. The laſt of the dozen luckily met with a reprieve from the fuſe having burnt priming no leſs than three different times whilſt he was laſhed to the muzzle of the gun; upon which the brave ſoldier appealed to the General if he was deſtined to die at that time; who, upon this, very humanely granted him a pardon. Thoſe that had ſuffered died with undaunted courage, upbraiding their companions with traiterous conduct towards them, and exhorting them to aſſert their freedom againſt the oppreſſive authority of their rulers.

I ſhall now proceed to engage your attention by a ſhort detail of the unparalleled ſufferings of the Engliſh priſoners during a wretched captivity of three years and ſeven months.

In the priſon of Seringapatnam they underwent a variety of hardſhips. After twelve months' confinement about thirty of the moſt comely youths were taken out, in different parties, and forced to undergo the operations preparatory to their being initiated into Mahomedaniſm, in the following cruel manner:— Being thruſt into a contiguous houſe, they were informed that the Nabob had ſelected them for his own ſervice; and that they muſt, without a murmur, adopt the religion of Mahomet. Upon this

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they were ſtripped naked by fifty or ſixty negroes who ſtood by for that purpoſe: a number of black barbers then entered ſtrapping their razors, who inſtantly ſhaved off every hair from their bodies. Theſe were followed by as many men with large leathern bags of water, with which they were waſhed all over, and purified from the Chriſtian faith. They were next cauſed to ſwallow ſtrong opiates in order to render them inſenſible of pain; when each of them was ſeized by thoſe unmerciful negroes, and pinioned to the ground, whilſt a kind of ſurgeon ſtepped forth and performed the act of circumciſion upon them all. In about thirty days they got the better of this painful operation, when the whole were clothed in Mooriſh habits, and ordered to diſcipline about five hundred natives of the Carnatic, who had, in the courſe of the war, been driven from their country into a ſtate of ſlavery, in order that they might be trained as ſoldiers for the Miſorian ſervice. In this branch of duty they made great progreſs; and, upon being told that they muſt ſoon take the field to quell a rebellion amongſt ſome of the Nabob's vaſſals, they affected uncommon zeal for his ſervice, thereby hoping to facilitate their eſcape when a proper opportunity ſhould offer.

They kept up, in the mean time, a ſecret correſpondence with their officers; and a feaſible plan of inſurrection, in favour of the rightful king of Miſore, was concerted at Seringapatnam; but, juſt as it was ripe for execution, one Richard Hegan, who had deſerted from the Company's ſervice, being let into the plot, made a diſcovery of the whole to the Governor on the very night before it was to take place. This fellow's treachery, however, was the means of ſaving his life, as two ſoldiers of the ſeventy-third regiment, ſuſpicious of his fidelity, determined that night to put an end to his exiſtence. He was afterwards made commandant of the five hundred ſlaves as a recompenſe for his attachment to the intereſts of the Nabob. Inſtead of a dreadful vengeance being taken, as was expected, upon the unhappy Europeans, they were only ſeparated into ſmall parties, ſome of the officers being ſent up the country to Chittaldroog and other remote places, whilſt the European Mahomedans and the five thouſand ſlaves, as has been already mentioned, were ordered to take the field, joined by four thouſand horſe and foot. Theſe, after quieting a rebellion of the Naiars, were afterwards reinforced to eight thouſand men, and ſent againſt General Mathews at Beddinore. Amongſt thoſe unfortunate young men were two privates (Mackintoſh and Mackenzie) of the ſeventy-third regiment, who by this time ſpoke and underſtood the Mooriſh language ſo well as to comprehend that a retreat was meditated after they had advanced the length of Siermuggy, ſixty miles from Mathews's army. This they communicated to the reſt of their companions; ten of whom at once determined, at all hazards, to attempt their eſcape. In order the more readily

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to ſhun detection, they divided themſelves into pairs, and fled from the Mahomedans. Mackintoſh and Mackenzie kept together; and, after ſcrambling for two days through woods and over hills, without taſting a morſel of any kind of food but cocoa-nuts and ſuch fruits as could be found, they were upon the ſecond night ſuddenly ſurpriſed by a noiſe in the dark, which prodigiouſly alarmed them. It proceeded from a number of voices; and, upon liſtening attentively for ſome time, they found the converſation to be carried on in the Gaelic language, which converted their fears into the moſt unbounded tranſports of joy. Upon this they eagerly advanced; and, having made themſelves known, were cordially received by their countrymen, who formed a picket of the forty-ſecond regiment in front of the Britiſh army. Theſe were the only two out of the ten that were ever after heard of.

All the officers and privates, that remained in priſon, were unremittingly loaded with heavy irons, and fed upon rice and water, produced from an allowance of about four pence per day. Their habitations were generally old ſtables and ſuch uncomfortable places, in which all the moſt humiliating operations of nature were neceſſarily to be performed. Conſtant alarm and unceaſing apprehenſion preyed upon their anxious minds, and completed the miſeries of their horrid ſituation.

The gallant Colonel Baillie, with many more of his companions, after a lingering confinement, during which he ſuffered much from ſickneſs, died of melancholy and chagrin in Seringapatnam priſon.

The detachment in Bangalore met with nearly the ſame treatment; and an inſurrection, which they had in agitation, was fruſtrated much in the ſame manner as that already related. Such was the miſerable fate of thoſe who had the misfortune to be taken in Colonel Baillie's and Brathwate's detachments, as well as of thoſe who had been delivered into the power of the Nabob by Monſieur Suffrein.

The ſufferings of the truly unfortunate men who were taken at Beddinore ſurpaſſes, if poſſible, thoſe which have been already deſcribed. That garriſon had no ſooner ſurrendered, according to their terms of capitulation, and encamped beyond the glacis of the fort, than they were ſurrounded by a very ſtrong guard, and informed that it was not the Nabob's intention that they ſhould march to the coaſt for ſome days. This gave them ſerious cauſe to ſuſpect that ſomething worſe was to follow, which ſoon proved to be too true; for, in a ſhort time afterwards, the General, with his whole retinue, were ſeparated from the reſt, and he himſelf brought to the Durbar in order to account for ſome ſecret tranſactions that had

been carried on betwixt him and his colleague Hayet Sahib (who took care to make his eſcape at the beginning of this diſaſter); as alſo with a deſign to intimidate the General, by ſevere threats, into a ſurrender of all the garriſons which he had ſubdued in the low countries.

In this forlorn ſituation a ſtrong reinforcement was added to their guards; when all the Britiſh officers were violently ſeized and brought to the public bazar, or ſuttling place; where they were ſeverally ſtripped of all their horſes, baggage, clothes, money, watches, &c. with a ſpirit of ſcrutiny hitherto unheard of; their very fundaments being ſearched for pagodas. Immediately after this the reſt of the Europeans and ſepoys, with their wives and children, underwent the ſame infamous operation. Notice was likewiſe given to them that the Nabob, ever ſince his arrival before the garriſon, had been forging irons for them, and that it would be in vain to entertain any hope of eſcaping with impunity.

After this ceremony had been performed the whole were marched back priſoners to the fort, the ſick and wounded being left upon the ground, who were inhumanly toſſed about and dragged out of their doolies, or ſick beds, by the bleeding ſtumps of thoſe limbs which had been recently amputated.

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They were now joined by the garriſons of Anantpore and Cowaldroog, both of which had been included in the terms of capitulation; when an allowance of about two pence, and a pound of coarſe rice, per day, was made to each perſon, officers and privates being ſerved without diſcrimination.

The officers, finding no mitigation of their cruel treatment likely to take place, wrote a ſpirited letter to the Commandant of the French troops, repreſenting to him the Nabob's unprecedented and inhuman conduct, and exhorting him to uſe his influence in obtaining the fulfilment of the terms of capitulation. This letter was delivered by a French officer who had been made priſoner during the ſiege, and had come to return his acknowledgments for the civilities which had then been ſhewn to him by the Britiſh officers; but, to their great mortification and diſappointment, no anſwer was returned, nor any French officer ever afterwards permitted to viſit them. Great ſickneſs was the natural conſequence of ſuch barbarous treatment; the diſtreſſes of which were rendered irremediable by the ſurgeons having been deprived of all their medicines and inſtruments.

Thus oppreſſed with ſuffering, and ſinking under ſorrow and deſpair, all thoſe of the detachment, who were thought in any degree capable of ſupporting the fatigues of a march, were dragged

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into the ſtreets, and chained in pairs by the hands without diſtinction of rank; and, after having undergone another examination equally ſtrict with the former, the whole began an ignominious march in theſe cruel circumſtances, under a ſtrong guard, to a hill-fort called Chittaldroog, ſituated about a hundred and thirty miles north-eaſt of Beddinore; where they were detained, in a wretched ſtate of captivity, until relieved by the treaty of peace.

Barbarians alone, inured to refinements in cruelty, can conceive the horrible ſufferings of thoſe unhappy captives in that memorable march. Many officers, who were ſick and badly wounded, uſed every entreaty to be left behind, but all was in vain; for their ſupplications only tended to incenſe the ſavage guards, and excite freſh inſtances of their unrelenting cruelties. None were ſuffered to remain behind but thoſe who bore the evident ſymptoms of approaching death.

The firſt day's journey furniſhed a melancholy proof of the ſufferings which were yet in reſerve for them. If any one of the Europeans attempted at any time to ſhelter himſelf under a tree from the intenſe violence of the ſun, or preſumed to halt, or even to aſk for a draught of water, he was unmercifully chaſtiſed by the hardened guards, who beat him ſeverely with their ſwords and ſticks, while others were driven forward by the butt-ends of their fire-locks with every mark of ſavage abuſe. They were frequently ſpit upon with an expreſſion of the moſt humiliating contempt.

In this unhappy condition did they proceed until they arrived at the fort of Simoga, about ſixty miles on their intended journey, when they flattered themſelves that leſs rigorous meaſures might be purſued; but the barbarians ſtill exulted in their miſeries, and ſeemed to delight in every act that could inflict freſh torment and affliction upon an European. If any, from exceſſive ſickneſs, required being carried, and the ſavages appointed to bear him along found him too heavy, they ſcrupled not to diſpatch him by a blow upon the head. It was with difficulty that they could be prevailed upon even to ſeparate the perſon who had died from the ſurvivor that was chained to him. One evening an officer, who had been ſeized with the cramp in his ſtomach, and by his violent writhings, in conſequence of the exceſſive pain, greatly incommoded his fellow-captive, the latter being in great danger of having his arm broke, ventured to unrivet his fetters; and, though he had permiſſion from one of the eſcort near him to do ſo, he was brought to a tree, with a rope about his neck, and narrowly eſcaped being hanged, his reprieve being purchaſed at the expenſe of a few blows and kicks from the Jemindar; who then informed the whole, once for all, that he had the Nabob's orders to hang any one who ſhould make the ſmalleſt attempt to free himſelf from his irons.

Here

Here they were told that General Mathews and his ſuite, under the ſame load of oppreſſion, had juſt arrived in that fort upon their way to Seringapatnam.

The following night produced a moſt violent ſtorm of thunder, lightning, and rain; to which the whole of the unhappy priſoners were quite expoſed — a circumſtance that bore particularly hard upon the ſick, and occaſioned a very great mortality amongſt them.—From thence they continued their rout, and, for the firſt time, were brought under cover at the fort of Hooly Onoor, about ten miles further on. As they drew nearer to the place of their deſtination the eſcort ſeemed to relax a little in their brutal ſeverity; and, after a ſeries of fatiguing marches, on the 21ſt of May, the priſoners at length arrived at the garriſon of Chittaldroog, ſituated upon the ſummit of a lofty hill, riſing in the heart of a wide-extended plain.

After they had been expoſed for a whole day to the violence of the ſun, at the foot of this hill, they were conducted, in two parties, up to the fort, and there confined in ſeparate dungeons; and, having been again ſearched and plundered, their handcuffs were taken off, and irons put upon their legs. A hand-mill was now given to them for the purpoſe of grinding their rice; which, with the operation of dreſſing their victuals, became their principal occupation and amuſement during the remainder of their captivity. It deſerves to be remembered that, amidſt all their penury and diſtreſſes, thoſe unfortunate Britons forgot not to celebrate the birth-day of their ſovereign. On this occaſion they bought a ſheep, at a very exorbitant rate conſidering their finances, on which they feaſted, in honour of the day, with the greateſt demonſtrations of loyalty.

Their allowances were increaſed or diminiſhed according to the good or bad ſucceſs of Tippo's arms; and when any of them died he was thrown over a precipice of the rock as a prey to vultures and tigers. In this deplorable manner did they linger out the remainder of the war, depending for their daily ſubſiſtence, and even for their lives, upon the caprice of a ſavage enemy. When the pacification was effected the ſurvivors were reſtored to liberty, and experienced that unutterable joy which a releaſe from a long and painful captivity only can inſpire. General Mathews, with all the captains of the hundredth regiment, and other officers of diſtinction, had been forced to ſwallow poiſon; of which they all expired, at Seringapatnam, in a manner too horrid for relation.

Enough cannot be ſaid of the fidelity and generous conduct of the Company's black officers and ſepoys during the whole ſeries of theſe unparalleled ſufferings. Every cruel mode that could be ſuggeſted by the enemy was adopted to force them into their

ſervice, but the brave ſepoys were ſatisfied to ſuffer every hardſhip and indignity rather than forfeit their allegiance to the Company. Numbers of the black officers were barbarouſly murdered for their inflexibility, while others, with the ſepoys, were ſet to hard labour upon the moſt ſcanty portion of food; but all was ineffectual to ſhake their fidelity. The attachment of the ſepoys was equally conſpicuous in their kind attentions to ſome of the Europeans who happened to be confined in the ſame priſon with them, they having frequently bought meat for them, in the bazar, with the hard-earned pittance which they daily received; obſerving, that, though the black people could do without it, they well knew that it was impoſſible for Europeans to exiſt without meat.——They had alſo the kindneſs, during the journey towards the Carnatic after their releaſe, voluntarily to carry the knapſacks of thoſe poor European ſoldiers, who, from weakneſs, were overcome with fatigue.

In making a few obſervations upon the general conduct of the war, I mean not to cenſure the character of any individual. A witneſs myſelf of moſt of the hoſtile operations in this quarter of Aſia, and, in ſome meaſure, a ſufferer by them, I draw concluſions from what I have ſeen, unbiaſſed by motives of intereſt or particular predilections.

Peace is generally conſidered by thoſe who have toiled through the hardſhips of war as ſuch a bleſſing, that the acquirement of it is generally applauded, however humiliating, or repugnant to the real intereſts of the ſtate, the terms may be upon which it is obtained. To eſtabliſh peace, upon a firm and laſting foundation, is an object that I ſhould conceive requires the moſt profound deliberation. To begin a war is a matter of more ſerious import than the generality of mankind are capable of perceiving; but when once entered into upon proper grounds, in order to ſecure a permanent peace, it ſhould never be ended while the leaſt proſpect of advantage remains.

It is to be hoped that the treaty of peace, which the Company have lately concluded with Tippo Sahib, is only meant to be temporary. Such, I am certain, muſt be the wiſh of every Briton actuated by ſentiments of patriotiſm, and capable of feeling the indignities which have been uniformly heaped upon the Britiſh name. Can any Engliſhman read of the ſufferings of his unfortunate countrymen, in the different priſons of Miſore, without dropping a tear of ſympathy?—Or can he peruſe the account of the repeated indignity and contempt with which his nation has been treated by the preſent uſurper of Miſore, without being filled with indignation, and burning with ſentiments of retaliation and revenge?

It muſt be allowed that the diſtreſſes in which we were involved during the war, in this quarter of India, were in a great meaſure occaſioned by our own imprudence and miſconduct. Want of unanimity amongſt our rulers laid the foundation for miſcarriage and defeat; and the ardour of our armies was invariably checked by the want of ſupplies, withheld through the anarchy and diſſenſions that generally prevailed in the councils of Madras. The rocks, upon which we have ſplit, are now perceptible to every eye; and it is to be hoped that future rulers may be directed by them to ſhun the fatal diſaſters into which the affairs of this ſettlement have lately been plunged. To retrieve our ſinking reputation in India muſt be the united effort of labour and of wiſdom; and I ſhould humbly conceive that no meaſure would be more likely to effect this deſirable purpoſe than to cruſh the object of our juſt revenge, the preſent uſurper of the Miſore throne; and, by an obſervance of rigid integrity in our future engagements with the country powers, to wipe off the odium and diſtruſt now univerſally attached by them to the Britiſh name.

In my humble opinion, the faireſt opportunity that ever can offer of accompliſhing this great end was loſt by concluding a peace with the Miſorians, at a period that ſeemed pregnant with every advantage to our arms. It muſt be acknowledged, that without money war cannot properly be carried on; and it will ever be felt as a ſubject of ſerious regret, that the Company were not better prepared for the public expenditures before they involved themſelves and the nation in ſuch a labyrinth of difficulties. Had that attention been paid by thoſe in power here to the true intereſts of the Company, I am confident that the moſt felicitous conſequences would have enſued. Tippo Sultan, the inveterate enemy of the Engliſh name, might have been effectually humbled, in place of appearing to treat our embaſſy with the arrogant pride of a conqueror. From the many proofs that the Company had experienced of the fidelity and obedient diſpoſition of their troops, they might have ventured to impoſe another year's ſervice upon them without incurring a great additional expenſe; and to this I am confident the troops would have readily aſſented, not only from a deſire of revenge for the barbarous treatment of their brave fellow ſoldiers, but from the idea of novelty and advantage ariſing from a proſecution of the war in an enemy's country, where the lure of plunder would have animated their hopes. It can hardly be doubted, when we conſider the reduced ſtate of the Miſore army at that particular period, and the diſcontent and diſſenſions that very generally prevailed in it, but that ſucceſs muſt have attended the efforts of four formidable and well-conducted Britiſh armies, ſtationed nearly at the four extremities of the Miſore kingdom; one of which indeed had already penetrated a conſiderable way into the enemy's country, and had ſecured ſeveral very important poſts; and none of them above two hundred

miles

miles from its metropolis. Four ſuch armies advancing boldly and at the ſame time to one great object, viz. Seringapatnam, with a view of placing the rightful heir upon the throne, could not poſſibly have failed of ſucceſs. But it is unpleaſing to dwell upon circumſtances that are now paſt remedy; I ſhall therefore only hazard one more obſervation.

Prudence and policy will clearly dictate, that the depoſing Tippo Sahib, in attempting which little is to be dreaded, and eſtabliſhing the lawful ſovereign upon the throne of Miſore, are objects of the moſt eſſential conſequence to the intereſts of the India Company in the Carnatic. By ſuch means the Marrattas would be kept as much in awe as at preſent; and the Company, in the king of Miſore, would moſt likely ſecure a peaceable neighbour and a powerful ally.

Tippo Sahib ſeems artfully to have avoided, and our plenipotentiaries appear to have as heedleſsly neglected, making any mention of Mahomed Ally, the Nabob of Arcot, in the treaty of peace juſt ratified. It was treating the Nabob with marked diſreſpect, and will at all times furniſh to the Miſorian uſurper a plauſible pretext for re-commencing hoſtilities, and of which he will moſt aſſuredly very ſpeedily avail himſelf. He may with great propriety ſay to the Council of Madras, " My quarrel is with

" the Nabob of Arcot, whom you have not even ſpecified as your " ally in our laſt treaty of peace."

Permit me now to relate, in a ſummary manner, a few of the many hardſhips under which this army has laboured in the courſe of the war, and to give a ſketch of the injurious treatment by which its ſervices have been rewarded. Under the direction of a government in which diſcord uniformly prevailed, the proſpect of ſucceſs from any enterpriſe could never be very flattering; and yet, under circumſtances the moſt depreſſing, was it not admirable to behold the ſpirit, diſcipline, and perſeverance of the Britiſh army, who, though conſtantly labouring under a complication of the moſt preſſing inconveniences and impending diſtreſs, ſallied forth with alacrity to meet their foes in almoſt every quarter of this immenſe continent, and patiently endured all the hardſhips of war, in ſpite of the united horrors of toil, of famine, and of death? Under ſuch circumſtances, I believe there are few troops in any ſervice that would have quietly permitted their pay, from the negligent and dilatory conduct of the civil government, to be twelve months in arrears at the concluſion of a war, unequalled perhaps in the annals of human kind for toil, hardſhip, barbarity, and carnage.—Little conſideration, however, was paid to their merit and ſervices, when the latter were no longer required.

His Majeſty's ſeventy-third regiment was ſent out from England with every alluring promiſe of being put upon the *ſame pay and field-allowances with any of their own troops upon the ſame ſervice with them*; but theſe promiſes it is well known have never been fulfilled. That ſerviceable corps, with the reſt of his Majeſty's troops, was cauſed to do duty, during the greateſt part of the war, in the ſame camp with a detachment from Bengal, who, receiving *double* their allowances, had always of courſe a preference in the markets, being enabled to pay ready money for ſuch articles as they wanted; whilſt the King's and Madras officers were obliged to wait at the door, ſupplicating for credit upon their batta bills, until thoſe of greater opulence ſhould think proper to retire. Petitions have been preſented to the Supreme Board, ſigned by our field-officers and others, upon this ſubject; and Sir Eyre Coote, who perfectly aſſented to the juſtice of our claims, had promiſed to uſe all his influence at Bengal in obtaining us redreſs; but by his unfortunate death all our hopes were cruſhed; and unleſs the King, and his miniſters, now think it an object worthy of their attention, which in juſtice to their troops, and as a future precedent, it certainly ought to be, we muſt ſit down contented with our wrongs.

The implicit obedience which his Majeſty's forces, much to their honour, have uniformly paid to the articles of war, as preſcribed by parliament, viz. "Firſt to complete their duty, and "then, if aggrieved, to complain," ought to be an additional incentive with government to eſpouſe their cauſe. Without a redreſs of grievances, diſcipline muſt end; for how can any government, with a colour of juſtice, exact obedience from an army, if it does not relieve thoſe who become ſufferers in conſequence of a rigid conformity to the laws which it has eſtabliſhed for military conduct?

All our pay, excepting the king's, was for nine months out of the year iſſued in bills upon Bengal, which we were obliged to get diſcounted at the loſs of thirty or forty per cent. Uſurers, or monopolizers of ſpecie, abounded at Madras, and the money ſo raiſed we were under the neceſſity of inſtantly expending upon liquors and other neceſſaries for the field; and theſe commodities were only to be purchaſed at the moſt exorbitant rates, as the Council never once took the leaſt trouble in regulating the police of Madras, in order to prevent the oppreſſive impoſitions to which the army was always ſubjected. Such a ſtep indeed might have proved prejudicial to their own private intereſts, and conſequently not likely to be adopted.

You

You will, however, be better able to comprehend the ſtate of our finances after peruſing the following eſtimate of our receipts and diſburſements during the war.

ESTIMATE *of unavoidable Expenſes incurred by a Captain of his Majeſty's Infantry, when in the Field,* for a Month of thirty Days; and alſo a Statement of his Pay, as it was received monthly, during the late war.*

His Expenſes, upon the moſt economical Plan, according to the eſtabliſhed Practice of carrying on the War upon the Coromandel Coaſt:

	£.	s.	d.
For a dubaſh, 4 pagodas per month, is, ſterling, - - - -	1	12	0
— a cook, 3 ditto ditto ditto - - -	1	4	0
— a boy, 1½ ditto ditto ditto - - -	0	12	0
— four bullocks and two drivers†, for carrying his baggage, at 8 pagodas; and 3 coolies beſides, for conveying his bed, &c. at 2 pagodas each,	5	12	0
— wine (often neceſſary in caſe of ſickneſs in this hot climate), 2 dozen, at 5 pagodas each, - -	4	0	0
— brandy and rum, 2 dozen, 6 ditto - - -	4	16	0
— tea and ſugar, 5 ditto - - -	2	0	0
— biſcuit, 2 ditto - - -	0	16	0
— eatables for his table, 8 ditto - - -	3	4	0
— candles (wax), 2 ditto - - -	0	16	0
— waſhing and barber, 2 ditto - - -	0	16	0
— maintenance of a horſe, horſe-keeper, and graſs-cutter, at 7 pagodas,	2	16	0
— clothes, pocket expenſes, &c. &c. - - - - -	2	5	4
Total, indiſpenſably neceſſary,	30	9	4
Alſo a palanquin, with nine bearers, at 2 pagodas each, - -	7	4	0
Total of the uſual diſburſements,	37	13	4

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
The King's pay, received in ſpecie, 7s. 6d. per day, is - -				11	5	0	30	9	4
Company's gratuity and batta, received in bills upon Bengal, both included, make -	27	9	0						
Deduct diſcount, at 30 per cent. upon a moderate average, - - -	8	4	8	19	4	4			
Out of pocket monthly, -							7	4	0

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* The Madras officers were ſtill worſe off than the king's; for what we drew in ſpecie they received in bills upon Bengal. It is inconceivable what ſhifts theſe gentlemen were ſometimes put to through this neceſſity: their patience was unparalleled.

† Inſtead of bullocks moſt people uſe twelve or fifteen coolies, at two pagodas each per month.

N. B. All officers are daily liable to have their baggage taken without ever receiving any recompenſe for the loſs.

The diſcount upon our monthly receipts from the Company is to be added to the above eſtimate of diſburſements.

His Majeſty's officers aſſert that they have an undoubted claim upon the Eaſt India Company for *double batta*, according to their own orders *now upon record at Madras*, from the day on which General Coote firſt landed in the Carnatic with the detachment of Bengal Europeans, in 1780, to the very day that the diviſion under Colonel Pierce ſeparated from the Madras army in 1784; which, upon a rough calculation, amounts to one thouſand pounds and upwards for a captain, and ſo in proportion to their rank and ſervices to all his Majeſty's officers who have done duty with the main army in the Carnatic. Theſe are ſums too ſerious to be withheld from deſerving ſoldiers, who have dearly earned every recompenſe which can be beſtowed upon them.

Another inſtance of the *generoſity* and *juſtice* of the Company's civil ſervants, in the Carnatic, was their *honourable diſtribution* of prize-money ariſing from the many ſeizures of cattle and grain that had been made by the army; and which, in place of being diſtributed amongſt the ſoldiers, were publicly ſold in the camp bazar at a good price.—Many flattering inſinuations were made in the courſe of the war, that the troops might expect large dividends of prize-money towards its concluſion; but of theſe we hear nothing more.

I have obtained permiſſion to return to Britain upon the recruiting ſervice, and have taken my paſſage in a French ſhip from Pondicherry; that mode of conveyance being by much the moſt economical; and, to tell you the truth, upon comparing the preſent ſtate of my finances with that at my landing in India, I find myſelf upwards of two hundred pounds a loſer by the war. This, it muſt be confeſſed, is no very flattering encouragement for a military man to ſeek his fortune in the Eaſt.

My next letter will probably be dated from the Iſle of France; where the ſhip, in which I embark, means to touch for water and refreſhments. Thank Heaven I ſhall in a few days quit, I hope never to return to them, the moſt diſagreeable of all ſervices, and moſt uncomfortable of climates. It is impoſſible to paint the pleaſing ideas that ariſe in my boſom at the proſpect of ſo ſpeedily reviſiting my native country; in which I hope to repair the ſhock which even a ſhort reſidence in this climate invariably gives to the conſtitution of an European.

Adieu.

LETTER XVIII.

Iſle of France, Auguſt, 1784.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

It is hardly poſſible for me to expreſs the degree of happineſs which I now enjoy in finding myſelf thus far advanced upon my voyage homewards. I ſee few other advantages, that a native of Great Britain can derive from viſiting foreign countries, than a tendency, which an intimate knowledge of them imparts, to ſtrengthen and render permanent that *amor patriæ*, implanted by the hand of Nature in the human breaſt. My conſtitution never accorded with the enervating climate of India. Its inſufferable heat ſeemed even to perſecute me to the very laſt moment of my reſidence in that country; for I had no ſooner reached Pondicherry, on my voyage homewards by the way of France, than I was ſeized with a violent bilious fever and return of a liver-complaint; which, in the ſpace of eight days, reduced me ſo low that I was ſcarcely able to walk; but, through the humane attentions which I received from two gentlemen (Lieutenant-colonel Dalrymple, of the

ſeventy-

ſeventy-third regiment, and Mr. Robert Barclay, a worthy and benevolent counſellor, who was ſent, at this period, to Pondicherry to deliver it and other places up to the French, and to ſettle ſome diſputes which had ariſen about the diſpoſal of Trinquamallee), I ſo far recovered as to be able to embark on board of the St. Charles, of ſix hundred tons burthen, bound for the Iſle of France and Marſeilles. A tolerable cabin was allotted to me in this ſhip of about ſix feet ſquare; for which I have agreed to pay one hundred and twenty pounds ſterling, which is eighty pounds leſs than what the captains of Britiſh Eaſt Indiamen uſually demand for a home paſſage.—The crew is chiefly compoſed of Italians from Leghorn; ſome of whom ſpeak a few words of Engliſh. Several French officers alſo took a paſſage on board of the veſſel to the Iſle of France; for which I have ſince learnt they paid but a trifling compenſation, and at the ſame time were treated with the utmoſt attention and reſpect. I mean not to tire your patience by a minute detail of our voyage from Pondicherry to this place. Suffice it to obſerve, that harmony and good humour reigned in our ſhip; and, though the entertainment cannot be compared with that given on board of an Engliſh Eaſt Indiaman, yet the pleaſant manners and ſprightly converſation of the French gentlemen rendered the voyage extremely agreeable. An evening ſeldom paſſed without our being entertained by the ſeamen with ſome burleſque farce or humourous ſongs. I obſerved (and indeed I am told it is

curious ship

cuſtomary amongſt the Italian and French ſeamen) that the crew paid the greateſt deference to the boatſwain, and that they had ſelected one man out of their number, the moſt noted for wit and buffoonery, to be the leading performer in their amuſements. Sometimes they would act puppet-ſhows; at other times laughable farces and country dances; and, by way of variety, a whiſtling concert of firſt, ſecond, and third, was ſometimes admirably performed. Theſe men were at the ſame time expert and careful ſeamen. But what is moſt of all to be admired in thoſe people is their extreme ſobriety. Not a ſymptom of intoxication appeared during the whole voyage, and the utmoſt harmony uniformly reigned.—Were I to chuſe a crew, with whom I was to perform a long voyage, they ſhould certainly be Leghornois and French, with a few ſteady Engliſh quarter-maſters and petty-officers. I cannot ſay much, however, for the naval ſkill of the officers who had the charge of the ſhip. They have been appointed to their ſtations by intereſt, not from their experimental knowledge of their profeſſion; conſequently they know little of aſtronomy, of the nature of currents, or even of geography itſelf.—The maſter is conſidered as a prodigy, becauſe he attempted occaſionally to obſerve the ſun's delineation with the azimuth compaſs. They ſeemed to truſt entirely to their maps, the compaſs, and the log-book, for their ſafety; and it coſt them a whole day to look out for the iſland of Roderique, ſituated to the eaſtward of Mauritius; whereas,

in going to India, the officers of the Engliſh Eaſt Indiamen told us the very hour upon which the flag-ſtaff of Fort St. George would heave in ſight.

I was the only valetudinarian on board; but the ſea air, together with the dread of coming under the hands of our *Italian Eſculapius* (who is a perfect original in his way) greatly tended to recruit my health and ſpirits.

Our veſſel approached the Iſle of France upon the ſouth-eaſt quarter of it; ſo that, before we reached Port Louis, I had the ſatisfaction of coaſting round more than one half of the iſland; and I was induced to take particular notice of the different bays as we paſſed along, and to form ſome conjecture of the defence which this important place ſeems capable of making. In this ſettlement the French have judiciouſly fixed their chief ſeat of Oriental government, as it anſwers in every reſpect to them what Batavia does to the Dutch.—The Mauritius is ſituated in about the 20th degree of ſouth latitude, and 56th eaſt longitude, from London. It ſeems much about the ſhape, and ſomething larger in point of ſize, than the Iſle of Wight. The centre of this iſland is formed of prodigiouſly rocky mountains, which on every ſide diminiſh, in a manner ſtrikingly picturesque, as they advance towards the ſea, leaving between them vallies of ſome extent; which, with the leſſer hills, are well watered and covered with wood. Perpetual moiſture hangs upon the ſummit of theſe mountains; which renders the verdure upon moſt of them, and particularly that of the vallies, moſt beautifully luxuriant. The north-eaſt quarter, being by much the moſt champaign, ſeems to be well inhabited. Here the genteel inhabitants of Port Louis have their country-houſes. Their cattle are chiefly fed upon the eaſt ſide, the paſture and water being both better and more plentiful than in any other quarter.

Our ſhip, though ſailing briſkly right before the wind, was twelve hours on her paſſage from the iſland of Roderique to the bay of Port Louis. Several ſmall rocky iſlands run about north and by weſt from Roderique obliquely along the eaſt coaſt of Mauritius at the diſtance of about two, three, five, and ſeven leagues from the main land; amongſt which the whales were ſo numerous and playful that I frequently thought, as we ſteered our courſe through the channel, ſome of them would have jumped upon the deck.

The Iſle of France does not by any means appear to be ſo impregnable a place as it has been generally repreſented. The ſhore, in moſt parts, is bold and rocky; but there are many convenient landing places upon the coaſt where the water is deep enough to admit of frigates coming ſufficiently near it to cover a

deſcent, notwithſtanding that theſe are defended by heavy batteries. The veſſel in which I was, of ſix hundred tons burthen, ſteered cloſe enough to the ſhore to have made a good uſe of her artillery; though it is commonly reported that a reef of rocks encircles the whole coaſt at cannon-ſhot diſtance; which I believe is more formidable in name than in reality.

Port Louis is at preſent the metropolis of this iſland; though, when the Dutch firſt took poſſeſſion of it, a place now called the *Great Port*, on the ſouth-eaſt quarter, was reckoned the capital. Port Louis is ſituated in the receſs of a triangular bay, the baſe or entrance of which may be about two leagues and a half over; and from thence to the moſt interior creek (where there is a good dock, and a harbour capable of containing two hundred veſſels) is full ſix miles; preſenting, as report ſays, a very difficult navigation. The French make a ſham of ſending a pilot to conduct ſhips of burthen through the channel for the laſt two miles, betwixt two rows of *white flags* artfully placed as if in the only practicable channel; but I have ſeen ſhips, of a good ſize, paſs ſtraight in and out at pleaſure; and the wind blows frequently from all directions.

The town is ſpacious, and the houſes, built chiefly of wood, form one continued ſtreet full a mile and a half in length. It has more the reſemblance of an European city than any that I have ſeen on this ſide of the Cape, both from the buſtle of commerce and the genteel appearance of the inhabitants. The fair ſex are numerous here, and are ſaid to poſſeſs all the gallantry of their mother country, being all remarkably handſome in their perſons, and engaging in their manners. I met with great politeneſs from them, and in a particular manner from the Governor, who indulged me with the privilege of walking where I pleaſed.

I think it matter of ſerious regret, that government did not think of directing their firſt efforts of the laſt war in the Eaſt againſt this iſland. A ſtroke well levelled at the root of the tree would have occaſioned the fall of its dependencies; a mode the moſt certain and expeditious for ſubduing the French power in this quarter of the globe. Had this meaſure been adopted, the Britiſh might not only with eaſe have cruſhed Hyder Ally, but given a good account of the Dutch and Spaniſh ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies.

The principal inhabitants of this place ridicule our nation prodigiouſly for not having, in the beginning of the war, directed Sir Edward Hughes's ſquadron to attack this place upon its way to Madras. One of the moſt reſpectable gentlemen of this town really aſſured me that they were then ſo much in dread of that event, and the iſland was at that time in ſuch a wretched ſtate of defence, that articles of capitulation had been thought of from the

anticipation of ſuch an attempt. Both the Iſles of France and Bourbon muſt have undoubtedly fallen into our hands, for at that period hardly any works of defence had been erected, nor were there above five hundred European regulars in both iſlands. The French, however, will, I apprehend, take care for the future that they ſhall not be caught in ſuch an impotent ſtate.

With all deference to the projectors of Commodore Johnſton's abortive expedition, it may not improperly be obſerved, that, had the attack of the Iſle of France been its object, it might have even then been ſubdued by a prudent and well-conducted attack; and would have proved a greater ſource of glory to thoſe engaged in it, and to the nation at large, than even the battle of *Porto Praya*, or the taking of the Cape of Good-Hope. It may perhaps be deemed preſumption in me to offer an opinion upon a ſubject of ſuch importance; but, as I write in the full confidence of friendſhip, and after having beſtowed ſome attention upon the matter, I truſt that my obſervations may not prove altogether unſatisfactory. I am now ſo thoroughly convinced that it will be in vain for us ever to think of ſubduing the French power in India, without firſt reducing the Iſles of France and Bourbon, that, when another war takes place between the two rival nations, I would humbly and ſtrenuouſly recommend it to the government of Great-Britain, to loſe no time in making a vigorous attack upon this place, as the moſt effectual and ſpeedy method of accompliſhing ſo great an end. Such an expedition might perhaps be attended with ſome loſs, but not near ſo much as a procraſtinated, and perhaps unſucceſsful, war might occaſion.

It would be no difficult matter for a few ſhips of war and frigates, ſtationed betwixt the Iſles of France and Bourbon and Madagaſcar, with two cruizers poſted to the ſouth-eaſt, and two more to the ſouth-weſt or windward ſide of the iſland, to reduce Port Louis in a ſhort time by famine. The troops ſent againſt it ought to be Europeans and ſepoys from Madras, or Europeans freſh from England. I conceive that four thouſand Europeans alone, or two thouſand Europeans and four thouſand ſepoys, with a proper proportion of ſhips of war, would be neceſſary to effect this buſineſs completely. It would be proper, likewiſe, in an enterpriſe of this nature, to diffuſe through the iſland a report that all the ſlaves, but particularly the *Maron*, or runaway negroes, who ſhould join the Britiſh ſtandard, ſhould be completely emancipated, and have ſmall portions of land aſſigned them for cultivation; and that thoſe who ſhould be found in arms againſt us at the conqueſt of the iſland, either African or Malabar of the black caſts, ſhould be delivered up as ſlaves to thoſe who ſhould favour us; for the ſpace of ſeven years only, however, when ſlavery ſhould ceaſe. Blacks from Madagaſcar and Africa might be invited over, not ſhamefully

trepanned,

trepanned, to ſettle here, which would in a ſhort time render labour cheap enough, without unfeelingly reducing the human ſpecies to the level of brutes.

As the works are very open and extenſive upon both extremities of the town of Port Louis, the enemy's force might be greatly divided by landing an equal number of troops upon each ſide of the port; which, however, ought to be very attentive to act in concert by judicious ſignals, either in the night or day, when an attack is meditated by the enemy, or any movement to be made. In the mean time two ſhips of war, with ſeveral ſmall craft conſtructed as fire ſhips, ſtationed in the mouth of the harbour, might be ready, whenever the enemy ſhould threaten a ſerious attack, to draw nigh and fire random red hot ſhot into the town; or, if the wind ſhould happen to blow hard at any time from the north-weſt, to let a fireſhip adrift among them; in which veſſel a ſort of wooden mortars * might be ſo conſtructed, charged with ſhells, as that, when the fire ſhould communicate to the deck, they ſhould ſet off the ſhells with a ſhort fuſe into the town. A firſt rate man of war can anchor within one hundred yards of the ſmall iſland, ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the harbour, named *L'Iſle de Tonneliers.* Upon the eaſt flank of the town, and alſo not far from the weſtern extremity, run fordable rivers, the firſt called *Latanier*, and the other *Little River*, near to Fort-blanc. Many rapid rivers of this kind deſcend in every direction from the mountains, and where theſe diſembogue themſelves into the ſea are the moſt likely places in which to effect a paſſage over the reef of rocks that are ſaid to guard the coaſt; and, when once boats get within thoſe barriers, the water becomes perfectly ſmooth in many places to the very beach. In the river *Citroniers*, on the ſouth weſt extremity of the iſland, I am told that ſhips of two hundred tons are built. At *Poſt Jacotet*, near to this river, an arm of the ſea runs up into the land, and forms a ſpacious baſon, where ſmall veſſels could reach the ſhore in the moſt perfect ſecurity. Here I ſhould propoſe to make the firſt deſcent with two hundred Europeans and ſix hundred ſepoys, without artillery; it being the moſt retired corner of the iſland, and the moſt likely place to be joined in by the *Maron* negroes, who live chiefly in that neighbourhood. The end of April would be the moſt proper ſeaſon, when the monſoon weather ceaſes, when the winds become variable, and the winter ſtores of the inhabitants are completely exhauſted. The detachment thus landed ſhould have orders, as ſoon as they ſhould be reinforced by the *Maron* nogroes, or people upon whoſe intelligence they might depend, to form two equal diviſions, and proceed

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* During the ſiege of Vandewaſh, Captain Flint, who ſo nobly defended that garriſon, made *wooden mortars* with iron hoops round them, which anſwered his purpoſe extremely well. That excellent officer alſo contrived *hand-grenades*, made of dried *potter's earth*, which he filled and threw with great effect into the enemy's works.

towards

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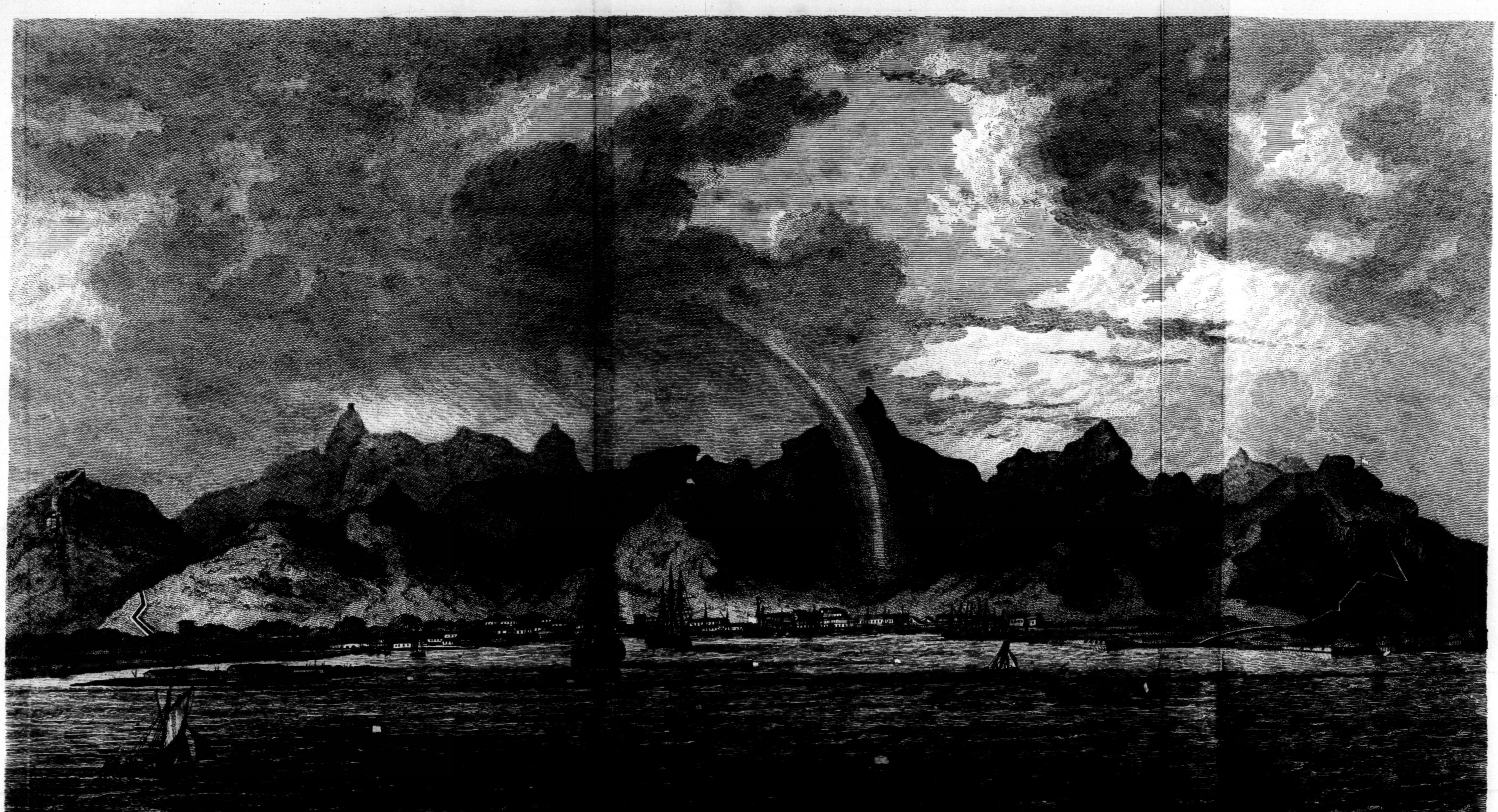

Innes Munro del.

B. T. Pouncy sculp.

A View of the Harbour & Town of Port Louis in the Isle of France.

Publiſhed as the Act directs 31 March 1789.

towards Port Louis upon each ſide of the coaſt, as the interior parts are perfectly inacceſſible, in order to ſweep away all the cattle that ſhould be found in the vallies, whilſt the reſt of the troops and ſhips ſhould alſo be formed into two diviſions, and run down before the wind on each ſide of the iſland, and with all expedition effect a landing upon each extremity of the town as before propoſed. By this means the enemy's force would be greatly divided, and their forage completely cut off, which, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, would ſoon reduce the town to a capitulation. At any rate, if the iſland could not be effectually ſubdued, very great damage might be done to the French in that quarter, even by a fleet that ſhould have orders to attack Mauritius upon its paſſage to India.

So much for a project that at preſent may appear chimerical, but which perhaps in the courſe of a ſucceeding war may attract ſome notice, and lay the foundation for an important acquiſition to the Britiſh crown *.

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* The view of Port Louis, which is attached to this letter, I began to delineate immediately as our veſſel entered that harbour, but being ſoon taken notice of by the *pilot*, who raiſed a *hue-and-cry* againſt me, and threatened to carry me before the governor about it, I was forced for the time being to deſiſt, and was glad to ſhut the pilot's mouth by the *peace-offering* of a few dollars, which perhaps ſaved me from ignoble durance; but as our ſhip ſailed out of the harbour upon her departure, I took the opportunity of completing my ſketch from the ſtern windows of my cabin.

As the remainder of our voyage will in all probability prove very tedious, I purpoſe employing my leiſure hours on board the ſhip in drawing out, for my own ſatisfaction, an enumeration of thoſe obſtacles which ſeemed to me to have chiefly impeded the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms in the late Carnatic war againſt Hyder Ally; and, as far as my obſervation and experience can dictate, to ſuggeſt hints for a remedy of thoſe evils in the event of a future war; which plans I ſhall hereafter take an opportunity of ſubmitting to the peruſal of thoſe whom they may principally concern.

My epiſtolary correſpondence with you on the very diffuſe ſubject of Indian affairs now draws to a concluſion. Our ſtay here has been about three weeks, and we proceed for Europe in a very few days, when I hope to bid a final adieu to the Eaſtern world; and in a reaſonable ſpace of time to enjoy the inexpreſſible ſatiſfaction of ſocial converſe with you and my other friends once more in my native land.

THE END.

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